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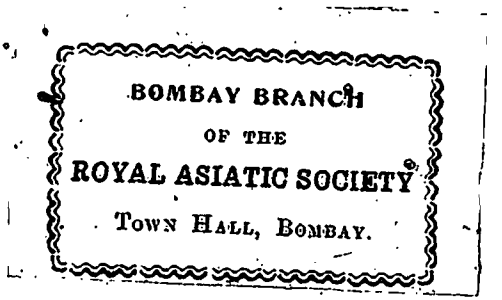

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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY.

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a form for 14 barrs

a form for 4 foot

a form for 4 foot

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True Scyndle of the Plan in Lord Burghley's hand for the Arrangement of the Trial of the Queen of Scots.

Mss. Cotton. Calig. C. IX.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F.R.S. Sec. S.A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD

MDCCCXXIV.

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EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN OF ARRANGEMENT

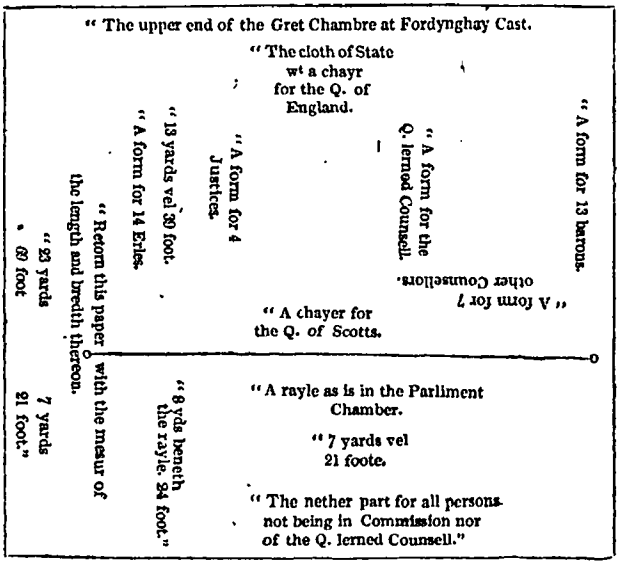
IN LORD BURGHLEY'S HAND,

FOR THE

TRIAL OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS:

FORMING

THE FRONTISPIECE TO THIS VOLUME.


" The upper end of the Gret Chambre at Fordynghay Cast.
" The cloth of State wt a chayr for the Q. of England.
" A form for 13 barons.
" A form for the Q. lerned Counsell.
" A form for 4 Justices.
" 13 yards vel 30 foot.
" A form for 14 Erles.
" A form for other Counsellors.
" A chayer for the Q. of Scotts.
" Reform this paper with the mesur of the length and breedth thereon.
" 23 yards
" 80 foot
" A rayle as is in the Parliment Chamber.
" 7 yards vel 21 foote.
" 8 yds beneth the rayle. 24 foot."
7 yards 21 foot."
" The nether part for all persons not being in Commission nor of the Q. lerned Counsell."

Below, in another hand, apparently in answer to Lord Burghley's direction, is the following:

"This wilbe most conveniently in the greatt Chambre; the lengthe whereof is in all xxiij. yerds with the windowe: whereof there may be fr. the neither part beneth the barre vlij. yerds: and the rest for the upper parte. The breadeth of the chamber is vlj. yerds.

"There is another chambre for the Lords to dyne in, the lengthe is xliij. yerds; the breadeth vlj yerdes; and the deppeth iij. yerdes dim."

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

CONTINUED.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER CII.

Cardinal Wolsey in his distress to Thomas Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 76. *Orig.*]

*** The Letter here presented to the reader was printed some years ago, by the Editor of the present Volumes, in the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries.

Wolsey, who knew the talents of Cromwell, seems to have placed great reliance on his integrity and affection. Cromwell, according to Cavendish in his life of Wolsey, became a member of the lower House of Parliament in the month of November 1529, within a short time from which the present Letter must have been written. He appears to have protected his master in the Lower House with great dexterity and address.

Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, has related an anecdote of Cromwell which may be worth introducing here. It occurred in 1540, at the table of Archbishop Cranmer, when certain guests were making a comparison of the qualities of the two prelates Cranmer and Wolsey. "The Lord Cromwell being somewhat touched to hear the Cardinal's service cast in his teeth," said "that he could not deny but he was servant sometime to Cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same for he received of him both fee, meate, and drinke, and other commodities: but yet he was never so farre in love with him as to have waited on him to Rome if he had been chosen Pope."

Myn owne enterly belouyd Cromwel, I beseche yow, as ye loue me and wyl euyr do any thyng for me, re-

pare hyther thys day as sone as the Parlement ys brokyn vp, leyng aparte all thyngs for that tyme; for I wold nut onely commynycat thyngs vnto yow wherin for my comfort and relief I wold haue your good, sad, dyscret aduyse and counsell, but also opon the same commytt sertyng thyngs requyryng expedicion to yow, on my behalf to be solycytyd: this, I pray yow therfor, to hast your commyng hyther assafore, with owt omyttyng so to do as ye tendyr my socor, reliff, and comfort, and quyetnes of mynde. And thus fare ye wel: from Asher, in hast, thys Satyrday, in the mornyng, with the rude hande and sorowfull hert of your assuryd louer

T. CAR^{LIS} EBOR.

I haue also serteyn thyngs consernyng yowr sylf wych I am suere ye wolbe glad to here and knowe: fayle not therfor to be here thys nygth, ye may retorne erly in the mornyng ageyn yf nede shul so requyre. *Et iterum vale.*

M. Agusteyn[a] shewyd me how ye had wryttyn onto me a Lettre wherin ye shuld adu'tyse me of the commyng hyther of the Duke of Norfolke: I assure yow ther cam to my hands no suche Lettre.

[a] Augustinus de Augustinis, or Mr. Augustine as he is more usually called, was the Cardinal's Physician. In the Cottonian Manuscript Titus B. 1. fol. 365. there is a Letter of his, to Thomas Cromwell, in Italian, requiring speedy medical assistance, apparently for Cardinal Wolsey. It is dated Asher, Jan. 19th. 1529-30.

LETTER CIII.

Cardinal Wolsey to Dr Stephen Gardener, afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

[MS. LANSDOWNE BRIT. MUS. 1296. art. 12. *Orig.*]

*** Wolsey, in the fatal reverse of his fortunes was entirely deserted by the Nobility. In his elevation he had treated them with scorn and rudeness; and the consciousness of this added much to his dejection. When the blow of adversity first fell upon him he seems to have believed that no friends were left to him in the world but CROMWELL and GARDENER.

Skelton has enlarged upon his treatment of the Nobility in his "Why come ye not to Courte:"

"The Erle of Northumberland
Dare take nothing on hand.
Our barons be so bolde,
Into a mouse hole they wold
Runne away and creep,
Like a mainy of sheep:
Dare not loke out a dur
For drede of the maystife cur,
For drede of the boucher's dog.

"For and this curre do gnar,
They must stande all afar
To holde up their hand at the bar.
For all their noble bloude
He pluckes them by the hood,
And shakes them by the eare,
And brynge them in such feare;
He bayteth them lyke a beare,
Like an Ox or a Bul;
Their wittes he sayth are dul;
He sayth they have no brayne
Their estate to maintaine:
And make to bowe the knee
Before his Majestie."

But Wolsey carried his hauteur even further than this; as another extract from Skelton will show, respecting the waiting of persons who attended him on business:

"My Lord is not at layser.
Syr ye must tary a stound
Tyl better layser be found;
And Syr ye must daunce attendance,
And take patient sufferaunce,

For my Lords Grace
Hath now no time nor space
To speak with you as yet,
And thus they shal syt,
Chuse them syt or flit,
Stand, walke, or ride
And his leiser abide
Parchaunce *half a yere*,
And yet never the nere."

And that this Picture is not overcharged appears from a letter of Thomas Allen chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a copy of which has been preserved by bishop Kennett in one of the Volumes of his Manuscripts now in the Lansdowne Collection[a]. The original was written about the month of April 1517.

" Pleseth your Lordship to understande upon Monday was sennight last past I delivered your Letter with the examinacyon to my Lord Cardynall at Guilford, whence he commanded me to wait on him to the Court; I followed him, and there gave attendance, and could have no aunswer. Upon Friday last he came from thence to Hampton Court, where he lyeth. The morrow after I besought his Grace I might know his plesure; I could have no answer. Upon Mondaye last as he walked in the parke at Hampton Court, I besought his Grace I might knowe if he wolde command me anye service. He was not content with me that I spoke to hym. So that who shall be a suitour to him may have no other busynesse but give attendance upon his plesure. He that shall so doe, it is nedefull should be a wyser man then I am. I sawe no remedy, but came without answere, excepte I wolde have done as my Lord Daere's servaunt doth, who came with Letters for the Kynges service *five moncths since* and yet hath no answere: and another Servaunt of the Deputy of Calais likewyse who came before the other to Walsingham I heard, when he aunswered them, " If ye be not contente to tary my leysure, departe when ye wille." This is truthe. I had rather your Lordship commaunded me to Rome then deliver him letters, and bring aunswers to the same. When he walketh in the parke he will suffer no servaunt to come nyghe him, but commands them awaye as farre as one might shoote an arrowe."

After this statement, no one will wonder that Wolsey should have been forsaken by the nobility and courtiers. Even Cavendish says, " I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive."

The bishoprick of Winchester which is more than once mentioned in these Letters, and which the King suffered him nominally to retain, was one of the last of the numerous preferments which Wolsey accumulated before his fall. The temporalities were restored to him as late as the 6th. and he was installed in it on the 11th. of April 1529.

[a] MS. Lansd. Brit. Mus. 978. fol. 213.

My owne goode Mastyr Secretary, aftyr my moste herty recommendacions, with lycke thanks for your goodness towards me, thes shalbe to advirtyse yow that I have beyn informyd by my trusty frende Thomas Crowmuell that ye have sygnyfied unto hym to my synguler consolacions howe that the Kyngs Hyghnes, mouyd with pity and compassyon, and of his excellent goodnes and cheryti consyderyng the lamentable condicion and stat that I stand yn, hath wyllyd yow with other lords and mastyrs of hys honorable Cownsell to intende to the perfygttyng and absolvyng, without further tract or delay, of myn end and appoyntment, and that my pardon shulde be made in the most ample forme that my cownsell cowde devyse; for thys the Kyngs moste gracyous remembraunce, procedyng of hymsylf, I accompte my sylf not onely moste bowndyn to serve and pray for the preservation of hys moste Royal Majeste, but also thancke God that ye have occasyon govyn unto you to be a sollycyter and setter forth of such thyngs as do and shall conserve my said ende, in the makyng and compownyng whereof myn assuryd trust ys that ye wele shewe the love and affeccion wych ye have and bere towards me your old lover and frende. So declaryng your sylf therin that the world may perceive that by your good meanys the Kyng ys the better goode Lorde unto me; and that, nowe, newly in maner commyng to the world, ther may be such respect

had to my poore degre, olde age, and longe contynuyd servys, as shal be to the Kyngs hygh honor and your gret prayse and laude, wych undowttydly shal folowe yf ye extende yowr benyvolence towards me and mine, perceiving that by your wysdom and dexteryte I shalbe releuyd and in this my calamyte holpyn. At the reverens therfor of God, myn owne goode M. Secretary and refuge, nowe set to your hande that I may come to a laudable ende and reposse; seyng that I may be furnyshyd aftyr suche a sorte and maner as I may ende my short tyme and lyff to the honor of Cryst's Churche and the Prince. And, besydys my dayly prayer and true hert, I shal so requyte your kyndnes as ye shal haue cause to thyncke the same to be wel imployed, lycke as my seyde trusty frende shal more amply shewe unto yow to whom yt may please yow to give for me credens and loving audience: and I shall pray for the increase of your honor. Wryttyn at Asher with the tremylling hand and hevy hart of your assuryd lover and bedysman.

T. CAR^{LIS} EBOR.

To the rygth honorable and my synguler goode frende Master Secretary.

LETTER CIV.

Cardinal Wolsey to Dr. Stephen Gardener.

[MS. MUS. ASHMOL. OXON. *Orig.*]

My owne goode mastyr Secretary aftyr my moste herty commendacons I pray you at the reverens of God to help, that exspedicion be usyd in my presents, the delay wherof so replenyssheth my herte with hevynes, that I can take no reste; nat for any vayne fere, but onely for the miserabli condycion that I am presently yn, and lyclyhod to contynue in the same onles that ye, in whom ys myn assuryd truste, do help and releve me therein; for fyrst contynuyng here in thys moweste[a] and corrupt eyer, beyng enteryd in to the passyon of the dropsy, *cum prostatione appetitus, et continuo insompnus*, I cannat lyve; wherfor of necessyte I muste be removyd to summe other dryer eyer and place, wher I may have comodyte of Physycyans. Secondly havyng but Yorke, wych ys now decayd by viijC.li by the ycere I can nat tell how to lyve and kepe the poore nombyr of folks wych I nowe have; my howsys ther be in decay, and of every thyng mete for howsold onprovidyd and furnyshyd. I have non apparell for my howsys ther, nor money to bryng me

[a] moist.

thether, nor to lyve with tyl the propysse [a] tyme of the year shal come to remove thither. Thes thyngs consyderyd, Mr Secretary, must nedys make me in agony and hevynes; myn age therwith and sycknes consyderyd. Alas Mr Secretary, ye with other my lordys shewyd me that I shuld otherwyse be furnyshyd, and seyn unto. Ye knowe in your lernyng and consyens whether I shuld forfit my spiritualties of Wynchester or no. Alas the qualytes of myn offencys consyderyd, with the gret punisshement and losse of goodes that I have sustignyd, owt to move petyfull hertys. And the moste nobyl Kyng, to whom yf yt wold please yow of your cherytabli goodnes to shew the premyses aftyr your accustomable wysdom and dexteryte, yt ys nat to be dowettyd but hys Hyhnes wold have consyderacon and compassion, aggmentyng my lyvyng, and appoyntyng such thyngs as shuld be convenyent for my furniture; wych to do shalbe to the Kyngs high honer, meryte, and dyscharge of consyens; and to yow gret praysse for the bryngyng of the same to passe for your olde brynger up and lovyng frende. Thys kyndnes exibite from the Kyngs Hyghnes shal prolong my lyff for sum lytyl whyl, thow yt shall nat be long; by the meane wherof hys Grace shal take profygtt, and by my deth non. What ys yt to hys Hyhnes to geve summe convenyent porcion owt of Wynchester and Seynt Albons, hys Grace takyng with my herty good wyl the

[a] propitious.

resydue.[a] Remembyr, good Mr Secretary, my poore degre and what servys I have done: and how nowe approchyng to deth I must begyn the world ageyn. I beseche yow therfor, movyd with pity and compassyon, soker me in thys my calamyti, and to your power, wych I do knowe ys gret, releve me: and I with all myn shall not onely ascrybe thys my relef unto yow, but also pray to God for the increase of your honor. And as my poore[b] shal increase, so I shal not fayle to acquyte yor kyndnes. Wryttyn hastely at Asher with the rude and shackyng hand of your dayly bedysman and assuryd frende.

T. CARLIS EBOR.

To the rygth honorable
And my assuryd frende
Mastyr Secretary.

[a] In Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 371. is an Indenture between the King and Cardinal Wolsey, that the latter should give up the Bishoprick of Winchester and Abbey of St. Albans, and have one thousand marks yearly allowed him in lieu thereof. The Indenture recites that the King had previously given the Cardinal certain sums of money, goods, and chattels, to the amount and value of £6374. 3. 7½; the schedule of which follows, p. 375. *viz.*

"Fyrste in redy Money MMMli.

"Item, in Plate nyne thousand fyve hundred threscore fyve oz. dim. quatter, at iijs. eight pence the oz. amounteth to MDCCLIIIli. iijs. vjd ob.

"Item, dyvers Apparell of Houshold, as Hangyngs, Beddyng, Napry, and other thyngs, as appereth by the Inventorie of the same, amountyng in value, by estimation DCCCli.

"Item, in Horses and Geldyngs lxxx. with their apparell valued by estimation CLli.

"Item, in Mules for the Saddell iv. with their apparell, valued by estimation LXli.

"Item, in Mules for carlage vi. with their apparell, valued by estimation XLli.

"Item, in Lyng on thousand, valued by estimation Lli.

"Item, in Cod and Haberden eight hundred, valued by estimation XLli.

"Item, in Salt eight waye, valued by estimation xli.

"Item, in Implementes of the Kychen, as Potts, Pannes, Spitts, Peawter Vessel, and other things necessarie for the same, valued by estimation LXXXli.

"Item, lii. Oxen, valued by estimation LXXXli.

"Item, in Muttons lxx. valued by estimation XIIli.

"Item, the Apparell for his Body, valued by estimation CCCli.

"Summa vj.M.CCC. lxxivli. iijs. vjd. ob."

[b] power.

LETTER CV.

Cardinal Wolsey to Secretary Gardener.

[MS. MUS. ASHMOL. *Orig.*]

My owne goode mastyr Secretary goyng this day owt of my pue to sey masse, your lettres datyd yesternygth at London wer delyveryd unto me, by the contynue wherof I undyrstand that the Kyngs Hyhnes of hys excellent goodnes and cheryte ys contentyd that I shal inyoy and have the admynistracon of Yorke merly, with the gyfts of the promocyons spiritual and temporall of the same; reservyd onely onto hys nobyll Grace the gyft of v or vj of the best promocōns: and that hys pleasure ys I shal leve Wynchester and Saynt Albons. As hereonto Master Secretary I can nat expresse howe moche I am bowndyn to the Kyngs Royal Maieste for thys hys gret and bowntawse liberalyte, reputyng the same to be moche more than I schal evyr be abyl to deserve. Howbeyt yf hys Maieste, consyderyng the short and lytyl tyme that I shal lyve here in thys world, by the reason of suche hevynes as I have conceyved in my hert, with the minyuose of the olde howsys, and the decay of the seyd archbyshoprych at the lest to the summe of viij C marcke yerely, by the reason of the Act passyd for fynys of testaments; with also min long peynful servys and poore

degre; and for the declaracion of hys Graces excellent cheryte, yf hys hyhnes be myndyd I shal leve Wynchester and Saynt Albons wych I supposyd when I made my Submyssyan, not offendyng in my treweth towards hys royal parson, dygnyti, or majeste royal, I shuld not now have deservyd to have left; and moche the more knowyng hys Graces excellent propensyon to pyte and mercy, and rememberyng of the francke departyng with of all that I had in thys world; that I may have summe convenyent pencion reservyd unto me, suche as the Kyngs hyhnes of hys nobyl charite shal thynke mete; so orderyng hys that shal succede and my lyvyng, that the same may be of lyck value yeerly and exstent. Wherat my trust ys and my herte so gevyth me, that hys Majeste wole make no dyfficultie yf yt may lycke yow frendly to propone the same; assuryng yow that I desyre nat thys for any mynde, God ys my jugge, that I have to accumulat good, or desyre that I have to the muke of the world; sen God be thankyd, at this ower, I set no more by the ryches and promocyons of the world than by the roshe undyr my fote; but onely for the declaration of the Kyngs honor and hyhe charyte, and to have wherewith, to do good dedys, and to helpe my poore servants and kynnysfolks. And furthermore that yt wold please the Kyngs excellent goodnes by your freindly medyacion, consyderyng how slendyrly I am furnyshyd in my Howse, nowe specially that the appa-

rell of Wynchester and Saynt Albons shalbe takyn from me, to geve and appoynt on to me a convenyent fernyture for the same, *non ad pompam sed necessariam honestatem:* and yf I may have the free gyft and dyssposycion of the benefyces, yt shalbe gretly to my comfort. And yet when any of the v or vj princypall shal fortune to be voyd, the Kyngs Grace beyng myndyd to have any of them, hys hyhnes shalbe as sure of the same as thougth they wer reservyd. And thus by hys nobyl and mercyful goodnes delyveryd owt of extreme calamyte, and restoryd to a newe fredome, I shall, with Gods mercy and help, so ordyr my lyff, that I trust hys Majeste shal take special comfort theran, and be pleasyd with the same. *Spero quod hæc quæ peto non videbuntur magna.* Howbeyt I moste humbly submyt and refferre all my petycions, *immo ipsam vitam*, to hys gracyous ordynance and pleasure, prayng yow to declare and sygnyfye the same, supplying myn indyssposcycon and lack of wyt conceyvyd by reason of my extreme sorowe and hevynes, that the same may be to the Kyngs contentacion; whom I had lever be ded than to ofende in worde, thowgth, or dede. And as towchyng the grantyng of the fee of one C^li^ for M^r^ Nores duryng hys lyff for hys good servys done unto the Kyng's hyhnes, for the wych I have alweyes lovyd hym, and for the singler good hert and mynde that I knowe he hath allweys borne unto me, I am content to make owt my graunte

opon the same, ye and yt wol please the Kyng to inlarge yt to one C^{li} more: and semblably, cause M. Thesauror hath the kepyng of the Kyngs game nygth to Fernam, I wold gladly yf yt may stand with the Kyngs pleasure grawnte onto hym the revercion of such thinges as the lorde Sands hath ther, with the ampliacion of the fee, above that wych ys oldely accustomyd, to the summe of xl^{li} by the yeer: and also I wold gladly geve to M^{r} Comptroller a lycke ffee: and to M^{r} Russell anothyr of xx^{li} by the yeere: remyttyng thys and all other my suts to the Kyng's Hyhnes pleasure, mercy, pity, and compassyon moste holly. Besechyng hys Hyhnes so nowe gracyously to ordyr me that I may from hens forth serve God quyetly and with reposse of mynd, and pray as I am moste bowndyn for the conservacion and increase of hys most nobyll and royal astat. And thus with my dayly prayer I byd yow farewell. From Asher hastely, with the rude hand and moste hevy hert of yowr assuryd frend and bedysman

T. CAR^{LIS} EBOR.

To the rygth honorable
M^{r} Secretary, in hast.

In the second of these Letters to Gardener (p. 7.), Wolsey laments the loss of his goods more than once. "I have none apparel for my Houses." And, in another place (p. 8.): "Alas the qualities of mine offences considered, with the great punishment and loss of goods that I have sustained, ought to move pitiful hearts."

Cavendish is minute upon the laying out and surrender of Wolsey's household-property at Westminster before he left for Asher. Mentioning the interview between the Cardinal and the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, he says,

"Then my Lorde delivered unto them the Great Seale, and was content to obey the Kings commandment, and to depart simply, taking with him nothing but only certaine provision for his House; saying that the King intended to come thither within two or three days.

"And after long talk between him and the Dukes, they departed with the Great Seal of Englande unto Windsor, and brought the same unto the King. Then went my Lord Cardinal and called his officers before him, and took account of them for all such stuff and things whereof they had charge. And in his gallery were set divers tables, whereupon lay a great number of goodly rich stuffs; as whole pieces of silk of all colours, velvet, satten, damask, tufted taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and other things, now not in remembrance; also there lay on these tables a thousand pieces of fine Holland cloth, whereof as he reported after, there was five hundred of the said pieces of cloth stolne, and conveied away from the King and him; yet there was laid upon every table Books, *made in manner of Inventories*, reporting the number and contents of the same. And even so there were Books made in manner of Inventories of all things here after rehearsed, wherein he toke great pains to set all things in order against the Kings coming. Also he hanged all the walls of the Gallery on the one side, with cloth of gold, cloth of tissewe, cloth of silver, and with rich cloth of baudekin of divers colours. Also on the other side were hanged the richest suite of copes of his owne provision (made for his Colledges of Oxenforde and Ipswiche) that ever I saw in Englande. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the Gallery, the one called most commonly the Gilt Chamber, and the other the Counsell Chamber, wherein were set up two broad and long tables, upon tressels, whereupon was set such a number of plate of all sortes, as was almost incredible. In the Gilt Chamber were set out upon the table nothing but gilt plate; and upon a cupboard and in a window, was set no plate but all gold very rich. And in the Counsell Chamber was all white and parcel gilt plate; and under the table in baskets was all old broken silver plate, not esteemed worthy to be occupied as plate, but as broken silver; and Books set bye them, purporting every kynd of plate, and every parcel, with the content of the ounces thereof. Thus was all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of all the said stuff with all other things remaining in every office to be delivered to the King, as well unto divers persons in whom he put his trust, as to one in especial of his officers, in every office of his House, to make answer to their charge, charged in their indenture of the parcels; for the order was such, that every officer was charged with the

receipt of the stuff belonging to their office by indenture. Then all things being ordered, as it is before rehearsed, My Lord prepared him to depart by water."[a]

Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, one of these very Books *made in the manner* of Inventories is still preserved[b]. The Reader will not be displeased with an account of it.

The Volume is of the folio size fairly written with occasional alterations as particular articles might have been given away or otherwise disposed of; much of the furniture also has its history, of whom it was bought, or who it had belonged to.

The Hangings of arras and tapestry are all minutely described, with the several subjects worked in each; many of them "bordered with my Lordes armes:" and great quantities are specified as brought from Hampton Court. The subjects were mostly scriptural. Of six Pieces of the History of King David "the third pece is the Wesshyng of Barsaby at the Lavatory." The Stories of "The Forlorn Son," Hannibal, and S^t. George, also occur: and what the reader will probably think somewhat emblematical of Wolsey's fate, "*The Wheel of Fortune.*" The Legate's Chamber at Hampton Court, it appears, was hung with the seven deadly Sins; and no less than "twenty one pieces of hangings of the Story of Jacob and Joseph" are noticed, "bordered with my Lorde's Armes," provided for the Gallery at York Place, which it is stated had fourteen windows.

There were other Hangings of green and red Say; Cloths of State; Traverses of velvet, sarsenet, and cloth; Beds of figured and paned velvet; satin, damask, and sarsenet Counterpaines, Coverlids, and Quilts, one "with my Lordes Armes, and a crown of thorns in the midst; Featherbedds, Beds of down, Mattrasses, Blankets, and Sheets innumerable; Table-carpets, Foot-carpets, Cup-board carpets, and Window carpets of silk, arras, and wool; Carpets received from Venice; Chairs of State and Cushions of cloth of tissue, and cloth of gold, fringed with silk and gold.

So minute is the Inventory that we have even "Stuffe lost, and in whose defaulte, and stuffe cut and altryd to divers purposes." Some of the Beds which are enumerated had names, as the Beds called the Infantelage, and the Sun.

Of Linen we find Board-clothes, Cupboard-clothes, Neck towels, and washing towels, with twenty dozen of Napkins of diaper.

Leather Cases for trussing Beds: these latter being articles of furniture which often moved with a Household.

[a] Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, D^r. Wordesw. edit. pp. 447, 448.
[b] Harl. MS. 599.

Of the Tables and Formes, one or two only were of cypress wood; the generality were of wainscot or fir.

Of smaller implements of household use, we find eight pair of Andirons of brass and iron, having roses and my Lord's Arms; six pair of Andirons with my Lorde's Arms and Cardinal's Hats at the tops; eighty four plates of latten and iron "to set candels in; fyre forkes, fyre-pans, and tonges; pewter basins for chambers, some bought against the Kings, and some against the Emperor's coming to Hampton Court. One fire skreen of wicker occurs; and, at Hampton Court, "a Clok with all things thereunto belonging," with "an Instrumente of Musyke for my Lordes grete dyenyng chamber."

This Volume contains also an Inventory of what is called the "Chapell Stuffe," among which a great pair of Organs, and two smaller pair, occur; with a table of wainscot and a pair of tressels to set the Organs on: Images of Saints; Candlesticks; Bells; Censers; Vestments; &c. The whole forming an enumeration of Furniture, of equal if not superior magnificence to any thing which could then be found in the King's own Palaces[a]. The rigour with which the forfeiture of all this fell upon Wolsey may be imagined better than described.

LETTER CVI.

King Henry the Eighth to William Lord Dacre.

A. D. 1530.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VII. fol. 156. *Orig.*].

*** When the Courtiers had persuaded Henry to banish Wolsey to the North, the King's favor had not entirely forsaken him. The following was one of the circular Letters sent upon the occasion to the greater nobility of the Country. The Signature at the top was impressed by one of the Stamps, already mentioned, in imitation of Henry's hand.

Nor must it be forgotten that, at the time of Wolsey's departure, the

[a] It is believed that the only fragments of Wolsey's Tapestry now remaining, are those which decorate a large Room known by the name of the Board of Green Cloth Room, at the east end of the Great Hall at Hampton Court. The subjects are chiefly allegorical. Wolsey's Arms occur upon these pièces two or three times: once with the Cardinal's Hat and usual cordons above; and once impaling the old Arms of the See of York.

King furnished him with money. "Shewe my Lord," said the King to Cromwell, that "althoughe our Counsell have assigned no somme of money, for to beare his charge, yet ye shall shewe him in my behalfe, that I have sent a thowsand poundes of my benevolence; and tell him that he shall not lacke; and bid him be of good cheare." [a]

HENRY R. By the King.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved we grete you well: and forasmoche as the most reverend fader in God our right trustly and right entierly welbeloved the Lord Cardinall Archebisshop of York dothe now repayre into those partyes, mynding to reside in that his Province for the bettre administration of the cure to hym committed, which nŏw of long season hathe ben orbate [b] and destitute of an archebisshop there resident; and consequently it shalbe the more nedeful unto hym to have the favorable and lovyng assistance of the nŏble men and other in those partyes: We therfor wol and desyre youe not oonely to shewe yourself unto hym from tyme to tyme of toward and benevolent mynde, using, entreatyng, and accepting hym as to his dignitie dothe apperteyn, but also in suche things as shall concerne either the administration of hys sayd cure or the fortheraunce of hys owne reasonnable causes, with the good ordre of hys church, and things apperteynyng to the same, ye woll be to hym conforting, ayding, helping, and assisting, as we specyally

[a] Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, Wordesw. edit. p. 433.

[b] bereaved.

trust youe. Yeven under our Signet at our Castell of Wyndesore the xxviij^{ti} daye of Marche.

To the richt trusty and
welbiloved the Lord Dacre
our Counsaillor.

Wolsey in retirement appears to have been, for a short time, a happier man than Wolsey in his grandeur. He laid aside all proud demeanor, while those blandishments which in early days had made him so acceptable at Court, in his latter days rendered him popular in the Country among people who had, till that time, only heard his name to hate him.

Upon his first arrival at York, he was compelled to reside in one of the prebendary's houses, while the Palace underwent repair; but removing into it a little before Whitsuntide 1530, he "there continued," says Cavendish "all the most parte of that summer, not without great resorte of the most worshipful of the country. And diverse noblemen, having occasion to repaire into the same country then, thought it good to visit my lord as they travailed through the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had right good cheer; whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have much love in the country of all kinde of people. He kept there a noble house, where was bothe plenty of meat and drinke for all comers, and also much almes given at the gate to the poore of the towne and country. He used much charity and clemency among his tenants, and other of the King's subjects. Although the hearinge thereof were not pleasant in the eares of such as bare him no good will, yet the country and common people will say as they find cause; for now he was very much familiar among all persons who then accustomably kept him company, and glad at any time when he might do them any good. He made many agreements and concords betweene gentleman and gentleman, and betweene some gentlemen and their wives, and other meane persons, the which had been long before asunder in great trouble; making for every of them, as occasion did serve, great assemblies and feastes; not sparing his purse, when he might make a peace and amity; which gat him much love and friendship in the country."

The truth of this favourable representation is confirmed in an extract which D^{r}. Wordsworth has quoted from a Work intitled "A Remedy for Sedition," printed in 1536, and which is too curious to be omitted here. "Who was less beloved in the Northe than My Lord Cardynall, God have his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloved, after he had

ben there a while? We hate oft times whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned; howe of utter enemyes, they becam his dere friends. He gave byshops a right good ensample howe they might win mens hartes. There was few holy dayes but he would ryde five or six myles from his howse, now to thys parishe churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayde masse before all the paryshe. He sawe why Churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the Churche, and made them all one. Men say well that doe well."

Wolsey's subsequent catastrophe is sufficiently known. He died Nov. 29th. 1530; not without the suspicion of his contemporaries that he had taken poison.

LETTER CVII.

Quene Catherine of Arragon to her daughter the Princess Mary.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 72. *Orig.*]

DOUGHTER

I pray you thinke not that any forgetfulnes hathe caused me to kepe Charles so long here, and aunswerd not to your good Letter, in the whiche I perceyve ye wold knowe howe I doo. I am in that caas that the long absence of the King and you troublethe me. My helthe is metely good: and I trust in God, he that sent me the last dothe it to the best, and woll shortly torne it to the fyrst to come to good effecte. And in the meane tyme I am veray glad to

here from You, specially when they shewe me that ye be well amended. I pray God to contynue it to hys pleasour. As for your writing in Lattine I am glad that ye shall chaunge frome me to Maister Federston, for that shall doo you moche good, to lerne by him to write right. But yet some tymes I wold be glad when ye doo write to Maister Federston of your owne enditing when he hathe rede it that I may se it. For it shalbe a grete comfort to me to see You kepe your Latten and fayer writing and all. And soo I pray You to recommaunde me to my Lady of Salisbury. At Oborne [a] this Fryday night.

Your lovyng mother

KATHERINE THE QWENE.

LETTER CVIII.

Thomas Frysby to Thomas Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 353. *Orig.*]

*** The following Letter to Secretary Cromwell, from Thomas Frysby one of the canons of Laund abbey in Leicestershire, indicates at least that he was considered accessible to his old acquaintances after he had attained to power. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, says much of Cromwell's recollection of those who had treated him kindly when in humble condition; more especially in the case of a poor man who swept the Cells of Shene Priory, whose father had given him "many a meale's meat;" and in that of Francis Frescobald by whose generous assistance

[a] Woburn.

when upon the continent, Cromwell was enabled to come to England. His treatment of Frescobald exceeded the generosity of common gratitude.

The site of Laund Abbey was granted to Lord Cromwell in the thirty-first of Henry the Eighth.

RIGHT worshipfull my singuler good Master my duety humbly premised with my prayer. Pleasith it your good Mastership of your goodnes to call to your remembraunce when ye laye here with us at Launde Abbey some tyme ye wolde take the payne to walke with me or my brethern abowt owr busynes; and as you and I cam on day from Withcoke I had a fall backeward in the Snowe in a place called the Dammes, betwen Launde and Withcoke; and by the same tokyn I doo send you by this berar vj. Chesys of this contre makyng, praying you to accepte the same that the old acquentaunce somme thyng myght be renewed. You shall nott nede to gyve our M^r^. prior eny thanks for the same. Other newellies[a] have I not to doo your Mastership pleasur with all, but with my prayer which all wayes ye shalbe assuryd of to the pleasure of God, who all wayes have you in his blessid kepyng, to your harts ease and your worship daily encreasyng. At Laund Abbey this xiiij^th^ daye of January

By your beadisman

THOMAS FRYSBY chanon.

To the right worshipfull
M. Cromwell be this delyvered.

[a] *nowellis*, news.

LETTER CIX.

Thomas Audeley Lord Keeper, to Secretary Cromwell on King Henry the Eighth's return from his Interview with the French King. A. D. 1532.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 346.]

*** The ostensible design of the second Interview between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First was to concert measures for a joint Expedition against the Turk; but the real intention was, by alarming the Pope and the Emperor, to accelerate the business of the Divorce.

Francis entreated Henry to bring the Lady Anne Boleyn with him, to which he consented; and, accompanied by her, landed at Calais by ten o'Clock in the forenoon of the 11th. of October. "Henry," says Hall, "was honourably received with procession, and brought to St. Nicholas's church, where he heard mass, and so to his place called the Exchequer where he lodged."

Calais, on this occasion, provided no fewer than twenty four hundred beds, with stabling for two thousand horses.

On the 20th. of October, the two Kings met in a valley near Sandyfield, between Calais and Boulogne. "The Kings train," says Hall, "waved on the left hand, to give the French King and his train the right hand; likewise did the French part, to give the Englishmen the right hand: so the two Kings, with all lovely honor met, with bare heads, and each embrased other in such fashion, that all that beheld them rejoiced. The King of England was apparelled in a coat of great riches, in braids of gold laid loose on russet velvet, and set with trefoils, full of pearl and stone. The French King was in a coat of crimson velvet, all to cut, lined with slender cloth of gold plucked out through the cuts. The noblemen on both parties were richly apparelled; and, as was reported, the French King said openly to the King of England, 'Sir, you be the same person that I am 'most bound to in the world; and sith it hath pleased you in person to visit 'me, I am bound in person to seek you, and, for the very friendship that I 'have found in you I am yours and will be, and so I require you to take 'me'; and with that put off his bonnet. The King of England soberly answered, 'If ever I did thing to your liking I am glad, and as touching 'the pain to come hither to see you, I assure you it is my great comfort, 'yea, and I had come farther to have visited you.' Then the Kings embraced the lords and estates; as the French King the lords of England,

and the King of England the lords of France; and that done, they set forward toward Boulogne, and in riding they cast off Hawks called Sakers to the Kites, which made to them great sport. And in a valley beyond Sandyfield the King of Navarre met the Kings, and there they alighted and drank, and, after that, they mounted on horsback, and with hawking and other princely pastime they came near to Boulogne, where on a hill stood ranged, in a fair band, the number of five hundred men on horsback, of whom the chief were the French King's three sons, the dauphin, the duke of Orleans and the duke of Angoulesme, and on them gave attendance the admiral of France and three cardinals with divers other nobles of France. These three Princes marched forward and welcomed the King of England, which them well beheld, and lovingly them received, as he that could as much nurture as any Prince that ever was. Then the French King said to his children openly, 'My children, I am your father, but to this Prince 'here you are as much bound as to me your natural father, for he redeemed 'me and you from captivity: wherefore on my blessing I charge you to 'be to him loving always.' The King of England ceased the French King's tale, and embraced the young Princes each after other."

From the 20th to the 25th of October, Francis entertained Henry at Boulogne; from the 25th to the 30th. Henry entertained Francis at Calais. Here, as has been before mentioned, they were joined by the young duke of Richmond. At one of the disguisings too, Anne Boleyn, who previous to her leaving England had been created marchioness of Pembroke, danced with Francis.

On the 30th. of October, Henry attended his royal guest to the place where they had met on the 20th; they alighted on a green spot, and were served with wine, ipocras, fruit, and spices; when, having communed a little, they again mounted on their horses, "and at the very entering of the French ground, they took hands, and with princely countenance, loving behaviour, and hearty words, each embrased other and so there departed."

Storms and contrary winds detained Henry and his suite at Calais till the 13th. of November; on which day, at midnight, he took ship, "and landed at Dover the morrow after, being the 14th day of November, at five o'clock in the morning."[a] Hall says, that on the Saturday following, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Mayor of London, and the Council of Regency, attended the *singing* of *Te Deum* at St. Paul's; but Lord Audley's Letter makes it on the Friday.

AFTER my most hertie commendacions it may lik you too vnderstond that other knowledge have we

[a] Compare Hall, Edit. 1809. p. 789-794. Stowe, Annales Ed. 1502. p. 944.

none, but the fame is firme and constaunte here that the Kings Highnes (thanks be to our Lord) is arryved within this his owne realme, which is no litle joye and comfort to the Counsaile here, and not onlie to theym but to all the subjects of the realme. And for asmiche as we have byne enfourmed by sundry Lettres from beyond the see, aswell by you as other, of the good and prosperous passages that the Kings Highnes hath had aswell in his going outward as in his retourn, and of the most joyous and amycable assemblie and meting of his Grace and the French Kinge, their nobles and trayne, in such wise as the lik hath not byn seen hertofore, We therfore, the Counsaile here, think we can do no lesse but now uppon the Kyngs revenue[a] into his owne realme to gyve congratulacion and thanks to Almightie God for the same, for the which the Counsaile here be determyned to morowe to assemble theym selffs at Polls wher the Maier of London with his brethern, of their own offre, entend likewise to bee; wher it is devised that *Te Deum* shalbe song by the quier of Poulls, and we render our prayers to Allmightie God for the good successes that the Kings Grace hath had, and for his prosperous and ioyous revenue into his own realme; beseching you to sett forth thes our good purposes and intents as it is by us ment, to th'entent that it maye be accepted as we trust it will in good part. Asserteynyng you furder that many of

[a] return.

the King's Counsaile here wold have attended uppon the Kings Grace uppon his first revenue into the realme, but bycause they have byn conversant in the ayer here[a] they dare nott approche to his presence till his pleasure be furder knowen in that behalf. Other nues ther be none here worthie advertisement; but this day I have byn enfourmed that if I had not devised a . . . . into Warwikshire for Spencers mattier, it wold have byn founde.agaynst the King, by beryng and mayntenaunce; wherof ye shall knowe more uppon our next meating which now I long for; as knoweth almightye God who kepe you. Written at London the xy^th^ day of November.

Yo^r^ assured to his litell po^r^

THOMAS AUDELEY *Custos Sigilli.*

"To his hartie beloved frinde
M^r^. Crumwell."

LETTER CX.

Sir William Fitzwilliam Treasurer of the Household to Secretary Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 178 b. *Orig.*]

*** On the day before Good Friday, usually called Shere or Maundy Thursday, it was a custom both in this and other countries for the King

[a] Stow, speaking of the Parliament after Easter this year says, "there was a fifteenth granted but not exacted at this season, because that suddenly began a pestilence in Westminster; wherefore the parliament was prorogued." Annales, Edit. 1592. p. 944.

and Queen, persons of high estate, and the abbats of religious Houses, to perform their Maundy; that is to wash the feet of a certain number of poor people, frequently *twelve*, in imitation of Our Saviour's washing the feet of his disciples. The Kings and Queens of England, indeed, increased the number, and usually washed the feet of as many persons either as they themselves were years old, or had reigned. They afterwards gave them meat, clothing, and a little bag of small money.

Catherine of Arragon, having been declared PRINCESS DOWAGER OF WALES only, in the parliament held at the beginning of 1533, appears to have seized upon the practice of this Ceremony as affording her a quiet opportunity of asserting her right as Queen, at least till her marriage had been dissolved by the Pope. The Letter announcing the King's refusal to let her perform the ceremony in any other character than that of Princess Dowager is now before the reader.

King James the Second was the last of our Kings who washed the feet of the poor people in person. The author of "Le Guide de Londres pour les E'trangers," 8° Lond. 1693. informs us that King William the Third was the first of our Sovereigns who deputed the performance of this ceremony to his Almoner.

From the Earl of Northumberland's Household Book, begun in 1512, we find that he kept his Maundy, if at home, for as many poor men as he was years of age. Wolsey also, in 1530, performed the same ceremony at the Abbey of Peterborough while on his Journey to the North. "Upon Palme Sunday," says Cavendish, "he bare his palme and went in procession, with the monks, setting forth the divine service right honorably with such singing men as he then had there of his own. And upon Maundy-Thursday he made his Maundy there, in our Lady's chapel, having *fifty-nine* poor men, whose feet he washed and kissed; and after he had wiped them, he gave every of the said poor men twelve pence in money, three ells of good canvass to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings; and one of these had two shillings."[a]

It may not be quite unconnected with this subject to state, that the Maundy is likewise used at the present day in the Greek Church. Dr. E. D. Clarke in his Travels in Russia, 4to. Cambr. 1810. vol. i. p. 55. says, "the second grand ceremony of this Season takes place on Thursday before Easter, at noon, when the archbishop of Moscow washes the feet of the Apostles. This we also witnessed. The priests appeared in their most gorgeous apparel. Twelve monks, designed to represent the twelve Apostles, were placed in a semicircle before the archbishop. The ceremony is performed in the Cathedral, which is crowded with spectators. The archbishop, performing all, and much more than is related of our Saviour in the

[a] Cavend. Life of Wolsey, Wordsworth's Edit. p. 485.

thirteenth chapter of S^{t}. John, takes off his robes, girds up his loins with a towel, and proceeds to wash the feet of them all, until he comes to the representative of S^{t}. Peter, who rises; and the same interlocution takes place as between our Saviour and that Apostle."

MAISTER Secretarie after moost herty recommendacions, this shall be to advertise you that the Kings Highnes hath had consultation with my Lord of Norffolk and with me, upon the contents of the Lettre herein inclosed. And forasmoch as it appereth by the said Lettre that the Lady Princesse Dowager intendeth to kepe a Maundy, alledging for her self that my Lady the Kings Grauntdame during her lif kept a yerely Maundy, and that diverse and many Houses of Relygion within this Reame dooth yerely the same, she thinketh her selff as far bounde, and maye as well kepe a Maundy as they. His Highnes pleassor is that ye doo advertise her Officers, whose names bee subscribed in the same Lettre, that in caas she wilbe contented to kepe her Maundy in her Chamber, secretely, or openly, in the name of Princesse Dowager, in like maner as my Lady the Kings graunt-dame did in the name of the Countesse of Richemount and Derby, his Highnes is right well contented that she shall kepe her said Maundy as honorably and liberally as any Lady hath within this Reame, the Quenes Grace excepted; and if she will refuce so to doo, but alledge that she woll kepe her said Maundy in the name of Quene, that then they shall shewe unto her that yf she shulde attempte

soo to doo, that not oonly she but also . . .[a] and all suche pore people as shulde receyve her said Maundy shuld encurre to farre in daungier of . . . . Lawes, and of High Treason, which they cannot ner in any wise maye suffer: and that they see she shall have no Maundy otherwise then in the name of Princesse dowager. And thus the blessed Trinitie have you in his blessed preservacion. At Richemount this . . . . day at night

Yo^r hon^r. .

. . . . . .

"The xviii^th. day of December this year," says Hall, "the duke of Suffolk was sent by the King and his Council to Bugden beside Huntingdon, where the Lady Catherine Princess Dowager lay. For the King was advertised, and had good proofs of the same, that she of froward mind would consent, neither to the determination of the Universities, nor yet to the sentence of the whole convocation of the Realme, but being counselled by a few Spaniards which had little learning, did all that she could to infringe the determination of the said Universities and Clergy. Insomuch that she wrote to the Pope and other potentates to grieve the King and his realme, because he would not follow her mind and break the commandment of God. Wherefore the King's Council motioned the King that such as were about her and moved her thereto, should be put from her, for thei thought it no reason that she should have such liberty to work that thing by the which the King and his realm might have detriment or damage. Wherefore the said Duke was sent to her, which shewed to her openly Articles of her suits to the Pope, and how she sought means to grieve the King and his realm, which hereafter she should not be suffered to do. For the same time was a curse sent from the Pope which accursed both the King and the whole realme, which curse the bearer thereof, being not by like the hardiest man that ever shewed himself in front of battle, thought it a great deal more better for him to bestow it without the King's reach than to adventure to come within his dominions, and therefore set it up in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders, where it was taken down by William Locke mercer of London. The Queen answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many

[a] *f.* they.

high words, and suddenly in a fury she departed from him into her Privy Chamber, and shut the door. He, seing that, brake all the order of the Queen's court, and discharged a great sort of her household servants, and yet left there a convenient number to serve her like a Princess. There was great lamentation among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then they that remained to serve her were sworn to serve her as a Princess Dowager, and not as Queen. Some said they were sworn to her as Queen, and otherwise they would not serve, and so they departed. Other that were sworne to serve her as Princess, and remained there, she them utterly refused for her servants: wherefore she remained with the less number of servants."[a]

LETTER CXI.

The Princess Mary to Secretary Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 18. *Orig.*]

MARYE PRINCESSE.

MAISTER Cromewell I commende me to you, and hertely thanke you for your kyndenes and favor lately shewed at my desyre unto my servante Richard Wilbram in the bihalfe of his father. I nowe eftsones desire and hertely praye you to shewe your laufull favor and goodnes unto Sir Rice Mauncell this beirer, in suche matters and buysenes as he is a suter unto you; for the said Sir Rice hathe maried oon of my gentilwomen, whome, for her long and acceptable service to me done, I myche esteme and favor. Wherfore if ye wolde, at this my desyre, extende your goodnes and

[a] Hall, Chron. ut supr. pp. 807, 808.

favor unto him in that bihalfe, so that he myght perceive his said suit th'rather therby to take good effecte, ye theryn shulde mynestre unto me veraye acceptable pleasor, whiche I shall herafter remembre accordingly. From Otforde the xxvijth daye of June.

LETTER CXII.

King Henry the Eighth to the Lord Steward and other Officers of the Household, appointing the Diet for the Lady Lucy. A. D. 1533.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER.]

*** The particular post which the Lady Lucy held at Court has not occurred to the editor of the present Volumes. She was probably one of the Ladies of the bed-chamber. The allowance of diet, from its quantity, must have included provision for her ordinary servants.

HENRY R. By the King.

We wol and commaunde you to alleue[a] dailly from hensforth, unto our right dere and welbilovede the Lady Lucye, into hir Chambre, the dyat and fare herafter ensuyng. Furst, every mornyng at Brekefast oon Chyne of Beyf at our Kechyn; oon chete loff and oon maunchet at our Pantry barr; and a galon of Ale at our Buttrye barr. Item, at Dyner a pese of Beyfe, a stroke of Roste, and a Rewarde at our said kechyn;

[a] allow.

a cast of chete Bred at our Panatrye bar; and a Galone of Ale at our Buttrye barr. Item, at after none, a manchet at our Panatrye Bar; and half a Galon of Ale at our Buttrye Barr. Item, at Supper, a Messe of Porage, a pese of Mutton, and a Rewarde at our said kechyn; a caste of Chete brede at our Panatrye; and a Galon of Ale at our Buttrye. Item, at after Supper, a Chete loff and a Maunchet at our Panatrye barr; a Gallon of Ale at our Buttrye barr; and half a Galon of Wyne at our Seller Barr. Item, every mornyng at our Woodeyarde, foure tall shyds and twoo fagotts. Item at our Chaundrye barr, in Wynter, every night oon preket and foure syses of Waxe, with eight Candells white lights, and oon Torche. Item, at our Picher house wokely[a] six white cuppes. Item, at every tyme of our remoeving, oon hoole Carte for the cariage of hir stuff. And these our Lettres shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf at all tymes hereafter. Yeven under our Signet at our manour of Esthampstede the xvjth day of July the xiiij. yere of our Reigne.

To the Lord Steward of our Houshold, the Treasourer, Comptroller, Cofferer, Clerks of our Grene Clothe, Clerks of our Kechyn, and to all other our hed Officers of our said Houshold, and to every of theym.

[a] weekly.

LETTER CXIII.

Letter of Summons to the Lady Cobham to attend the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn.

[MS. HARL. 283. fol. 96. *Orig.*]

HENRY R. By the King.

RIGHT dere and welbeloved we grete you well. And forasmoche as we be determyned upon the fest of Pentecost next commyng to kepe and do to be celebrate at Westmynster, with all due circumstances of honor, the Coronacion of our derest wif the Lady Anne our Quene, as to her astate and dignitie dothe appertain; and have appointed you amongs other, at the same tyme, to geve your attendance on horseback in suche place as to your degree apperteineth; We therfore desire and pray you to put yourself in suche aredines as ye may be personally at our manor of Grenewich the Fryday next bifore the said feest, then and ther to give your attendance upon our said Quene from thens to our Towre of London the same day, and on the next day to ryde from the same our Toure, thorugh our Cite of London, unto our manor of Westmynster, and the next day, Witsonday, to go unto our Monastery ther to the said Coronacion, providing for yourself and your women some faire white, or white gray palfreies, or geldings, suche as ye shall thinke

most fytt to serve for that purpose. And as concernyng the apparell of your own palfrey, ye shalbe furnished therof by the Master of the Horsses with our said derest wif the Quene at any your repaire or sending hider for the same in every behalf, saving for your bitt and your bosses. Trusting that for the lyveraies and ordering of your said women aswell in thair apparell as in their horsses ye woll in suche wise provide for them as unto your honor and that Solempnite apperteineth: and your own Robes and Lyveraies shalbe delyvered at any tyme, when ye shal come or sende for the same by the Keper of our Great Wardrobe: not failling hereof as ye entende to do us pleasour. Yeven under Signet at our manor of Grenewich the xxviijth day of Aprill.

To our right dere and welbeloved
the Lady Cobham.

LETTER CXIV.

Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, to M^{r}. Hawkyns the Ambassador at the Emperor's Court; upon the divorce of Queen Catherine, and the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. A. D. 1533.

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 6148.]

*** The following Letter from Cranmer to the English ambassador at the Emperor's court, is taken from the archbishop's rough copy-book of his own Letters.

The passage in it which concerns the secret marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn is, perhaps, the most important of the whole; as tending to

throw light upon the real time of a transaction on which our historians have differed.

Hall and Holinshed both name St. Erkenwald's day for the marriage, November the fourteenth; the very day on which Henry and Anne arrived at Dover from the Interview with Francis[a]. But this was a time ill-adapted to concealment; and was probably fixed upon at a later moment, only that the world might believe that the fruit of the marriage was conceived in wedlock[b].

Stow fixes the twenty-fifth of January following, that is St. Paul's day, for the time; and says the ceremony was performed by D^r. Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Chester[c]. Cranmer merely says it was *much about* St. Paul's day.

At all events the marriage was celebrated before even Cranmer's divorce had been pronounced. Lord Herbert asserts, with what truth the present Letter will declare, that Cranmer himself was at the marriage[d].

Whether the following Account of this transaction came from the fictions of Sanders, or from the manuscript History of the Divorce presented to Queen Mary thirty years before the work of Sanders was published, matters not: it is to be regretted that, uncorroborated, it should have found its way into a work, in many points of view so valuable as Lingard's History of England:

"On the 25^th. of January *at an early hour*, D^r. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, *received an order to celebrate mass in a* garret *at the western end of the palace at Whitehall.* There he found the King attended by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of chamber, and Anne Boleyn accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Savage, afterwards lady Berkeley. We are told that Lee, when he discovered the object for which he had been called, *made some opposition:* but Henry calmed his scruples with the assurance that Clement had pronounced in his favour, *and that the Papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.* As soon as the marriage ceremony had been performed, the parties *separated in silence before it was light*"[e].

In my most hartie wise I commende me unto you and even so woulde be right gladd to here of your welfare, &c. Thes be to advertise you that inasmoche

[a] Hall, Chron. edit. 1809. p. 794. Holinsh. edit. 1808. vol. iii. p. 777.

[b] Queen Elizabeth was born on September the 7^th. 1533.

[c] Stow, Ann. edit. 1631. p. 562.

[d] Herb. Life of Hen. VIII. edit. 1649. p. 341. Burnet in his History of the Reformation has likewise fallen into this error.

[e] Lingard's Hist. Engl. 1^st. edit. vol. iv. p. 190.

as you nowe and than take some paynes in writyng vnto me, I woulde be lothe you shuld thynke your Labour utterly lost and forgotten for lake of wrytyng agayne; therefore and bycause I reken you be somedele desirous of suche newis as hathe byn here with us of late in the Kyngis Graces matters, I entend to enforme you a parte therof accordyng to the tenure and purporte vsyd in that behalf.

Ande fyrste as towchyng the small determynacion and concludyng of the matter of devorse betwene my Lady Kateren and the Kyngs Grace, whiche said matter after the Convocacion in that behalf hadde determyned and aggreed accordyng to the former consent of the Vniversites, yt was thowght convenient by the Kyng and his lernyd Councell that I shuld repayre unto Dunstable, which ys within iiij. myles vnto Amptell, where the said Lady Kateren kepeth her howse, and there to call her before me, to here the fynall Sentance in this said mateir. Notwithstandyng she would not att all obey therunto, for whan she was by doctour Lee cited to appear by a daye, she utterly refused the same, sayinge that inasmoche as her cause was before the Pope she would have none other judge; and therfore woulde not take me for her judge. Nevertheless the viijth daye of Maye, accordyng to the said appoyntment, I came vnto Dunstable, my Lorde of Lyncoln beyng assistante vnto me, and my Lorde of Wyncehester, Doctour Bell, Doctour

Claybroke, Doctour Trygonnel, Doctour Hewis, Doctour Olyver, Doctour Brytten, Mr. Bedell, with diuerse other lernyd in the Lawe beyng councellours in the Lawe for the King's parte: and soo there at our commyng kepte a Courte for the apperance of the said Lady Kateren, where were examyned certeyn witnes whiche testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appere, whome for fawte of apperance was declared contumax; procedyng in the said cause agaynste her *in pœnam contumaciam* as the processe of the Lawe thereunto belongeth; whiche contynewed xv. dayes after our cummyng thither. And the morow after Assension daye I gave finall Sentance therin, howe that it was indispensable for the Pope to lycense any suche marieges.

This donne, and after our reiornyng[a] home agayne, the Kings Highnes prepared al thyngs convenient for the Coronacion of the Queene, whiche also was after suche a maner as foloweth.

The Thursdaye nexte before the feaste of Pentecost, the Kyng and the Queene beyng at Grenewyche, all the Craftes of London thereunto well appoynted, in severall bargis deckyd after the most gorgiouse and sumptuous maner, with dyverse pagiantes thereunto belongyng, repayred and wayted all together upon the Mayre of London; and so, well furnysshed, cam all vnto Grenewiche, where they taryed and wayted for

[a] re-journying.

the Queenes commyng to her barge: which so done, they brought her unto the Tower, tromppets, shambes[a], and other dyverse instrumentes all the wayes playng and makyng greate melodie, which, as ys reported, was as combly donne as neuer was lyke in any tyme nyghe to our rememberaunce. And so her Grace cam to the Tower on Thursdaye at nyghte, abowte v. of the clocke, where also was suche a pele of gonnes as hathe not byn harde lyke a great while before. And the same nyghte, and Frydaye aldaye[b], the Kyng and Queene taryed there; and on Frydaye at nyght the Kyngs Grace made xviij knyghts of the Bathe, whose creacion was not alonly so strange to here of, as also their garmentes stranger to beholde or loke on; whiche said Knightes, the nexte daye, whiche was Saturday, rydde before the Queene's grace thorowte the Citie of London towards Westminster palice, over and besyds the moste parte of the nobles of the Realme, whiche lyke accompanied her grace thorowe owte the said citie; she syttyng in her heere, upon a Horse Lytter, rychely appareled, and iiij knyghtes of the v. ports beryng a Canapye over her hedd. And after her cam iiij. riche charettes, one of them emptie, and ij. other furnysshed with diuerse auncient old lades; and after them cam a great trayne of other Ladies and gyntillwomen: whyche said Progresse, from the begynnyng to thendyng, extendid

[a] shaums. [b] all day.

half a myle in leyngthe by estimacion or thereaboute. To whome also, as she came alongeste the Citie, was shewid many costely pagiants, with diverse other encomyes spoken of chyldren to her; wyne also runyng at certeyne Condits plentiously. And so procedyng thorowte the streats, passid furthe vnto Westminster Hall, where was a certeyn banket prepared for her, which donne, she was conveyd owte of the bake syde of the palice into a Barge and so vnto Yorke Place, where the Kyng's grace was before her comyng, for this you muste ever presuppose that his Grace came allwayes before her secretlye in a Barge aswell frome Grenewyche to the Tower as from the Tower to Yorke place.

Nowe than on Soundaye was the Coronacion, which allso was of such a maner.

In the mornynge ther assembled withe me at Westminster Churche the bysshop of Yorke, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Wynchester, the Bishop of Lyncoln, the Bishop of Bathe, and the Bishop of Saint Asse, the Abbote of Westminstre with x or xij moo Abbottes, whiche all revestred ourselfs in our pontificalibus, and, soo furnysshed, withe our Crosses and Crossiers, procedid oute of th'Abbey in a procession unto Westminstre Hall, where we receyved the Queene apareled in a Robe of purple velvet, and all the ladyes and gentillwomen in robes and gownes of scarlet accordyng to the maner vsed before tyme

in such besynes: and so her Grace sustayned of eche syde with ij^to^ bysshops, the Bysshope of London ande the Bysshop of Wynchester, came furthe in processyon unto the Churche of Westminster, she in her here, my Lord of Suffolke berying before herr the Crowne, and ij^to^ other Lords beryng also before her a Ceptur and a white Rodde, and so entred up into the highe Alter, where diverse Ceremoneys used aboute her, I did sett the Crowne on her hedde, and than was songe *Te Deum*, &c. And after that was song a solempne Masse, all which while her grace satt crowned upon a scaffold whiche was made betwene the Highe Alter and the Qwyer in Westminstre Churche; which Masse and ceremonyes donne and fynysshed, all the Assemble of noble men broughte her into Westminstre Hall agayne, where was kepte a great solempne feaste all that daye; the good ordre therof were to longe to wrytte at this tyme to you. But nowe Sir you may nott ymagyn that this Coronacion was before her mariege, for she was maried muche about sainte Paules daye last, as the condicion therof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe sumwhat bygg with chylde. Notwithstandyng yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I maried her; whiche was playnly false, for I myself knewe not therof a fortenyght after yt was donne. And many other thyngs be also reported of me, whiche be mere lyes and tales.

Other newys have we none notable, but that one Fryth, whiche was in the Tower in pryson, was appoynted by the Kyngs grace to be examyned befor me, my Lorde of London, my lorde of Wynchestré, my Lorde of Suffolke, my Lorde Channcelour, and my Lorde of Wylteshere, whose opynion was so notably erroniouse, that we culde not dyspache hym but was fayne to leve hym to the determynacion of his Ordinarye, whiche ys the bishop of London. His said opynyon ys of suche nature that he thoughte it nat necessary to be beleved as an Article of our faythe, that ther ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the Oste and Sacramente of the Alter, and holdethe of this poynte muste after the Opynion of Oecolampadious. And suerly I myself sent for hym iij or iiij tymes to perswade hym to leve that his Imaginacion, but for all that we could do therin he woulde not applye to any counsaile, notwithstandyng nowe he ys at a fynall ende with all examinacions, for my Lorde of London hathe gyven sentance and delyuerd hym to the secular power, where he loketh every daye to goo unto the fyer. And ther ys also condempned with hym one Andrewe a taylour of London for the said self same opynion.

* * * * * * * *

And thus farr you well, from my manor of Croydon the xvij. daye of June.

LETTER CXV.

Edward Earl of Derby and Sir Henry Faryngton to King Henry the Eighth.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL PRESERVED IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER.]

*** The clamour as well among the clergy as among the laity, upon the second marriage of King Henry the Eighth, was great.

Stow says, "the first that openly resisted or reprehended the King touching his marriage with Anne Boleyn, was one friar Peto, a simple man yet very devout, of the Order of Observants." He preached before the King at Greenwich, upon the latter part of the Story of Ahab, "saying 'Even where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs 'lick thy blood also O King;' and therewithal spoke of the lying prophets which abused the King. I am, quoth he, that Micheas whom thou will hate, because I must tell thee truly that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow, yet because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak of it." The King being thus reproved, endured it patiently, says Stow, "but the next Sunday being the eighth of May, Dr. Curwen preached in the same place, who most sharply reprehended Peto and his preaching, and called him dog, slanderer, base beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor; saying that no subject should speak so audaciously to Princes; and having spoke much to that effect, and in commendation of the King's marriage, thereby to establish his seed in his seat for ever, he supposing to have utterly suppressed Peto, and his partakers, lifted up his voice, and said 'I speak to thee 'Peto which makest thyself Micheas, that thou mayest speak evil of Kings, 'but now thou art not to be found, being fled for fear and shame, as being 'unable to answer my arguments.' And whilst he thus spake, there was one Elstow, a fellow friar to Peto, standing in the rood-loft, who with a bold voice said to Dr. Curwen, 'Good Sir, you know that father Peto, as he was commanded, is now gone to a Provincial Council holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for tomorrow he will return again; in the mean time I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life to prove all those things true which he hath taught out of the holy Scripture: and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges; *even unto thee* CURWEN I say; which art one of the four hundred Prophets into whom the spirit of lyeing is entred, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the King unto endless perdition, more for thy own vain glory and hope of promotion, than for discharge of thy clogged conscience, and the

King's salvation.' This Elstow waxed hot, and spake very earnestly, so as they could not make him cease his speech, until THE KING HIMSELF bad him hold his peace, and gave order that he and Peto should be convented before the Council, which was done the next day; and when the Lords had rebuked them, then the earl of Essex told them that they had deserved to be put into a sack and cast into the Thames; whereunto Elstow smiling, said, 'Threaten these things to rich and dainty folke, which are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hope in this world; for we esteem them not, but are joyful that for the discharge of our duties we are driven hence: and, with thanks to God, we know the way to Heaven to be as ready by water as by land, and therefore we care not which way we go."[a]

The Letter now before the reader will show the coarse manner in which the marriage of Anne Boleyn was received in a remoter quarter of the Kingdom.

PLEAS it your Highnes to be advertysed, that wher as Sir William Fitzwilliam knyght, on of your Counsullors and Tresorer of your moost honorable Howse, lately directed his severall Lettres unto us your humble subgetts and servants Edward Erle of Derby and Henry Faryngton Knyght, whereby we perceyve your graces pleasor is that a lewde and noghty preist inhabytyng in thise partyes, who hathe of late reported and spoken befor and in the audyence of certeyn persons sundry and diverse unfyttyng and sklaunderous words, aswell by your Highnes as by the Quenes grace, shuld not only be attached and sent up to your Highnes, but also that we shuld in the accomplishement of your said pleasor take th'examynacions and saings of suche persons as were present and herd the same unfittyng and sklaunderous reports and saynys of the said preist in the premisses; and the same to

[a] Stow, Annals, edit. 1631. p. 562.

send in wrytyng to your Highnes subscribed with our hands; We according to our bounden duties in the accomplishement of your graces pleasor, have called befor us suche persons whose names and deposicions herafter do ensue; and the same persons did examyn upon ther othes at Ley in the Countie of Lancaster, the x^th^ day of August in the xxv^th^ yere of the reign of your noble Highnes, Sir Richard Hoghton, Sir Willm Leylond knyghts, and Thomas Howcroft your servants and other of the Counsaill of me the said Erle beyng present with us. And the said S^r^ Henry hath attached the said preist and send hym to your Highnes.

And S^r^ Richard Clerke vyker of Leegh deposith and saith that the xx day of July last past he rede a proclamacion at Crofton, in the Howse of John Blackeston's, concernyng Lady Katharin Princesse-dowager, whiche S^r^ Jamys Harrison preist hering the said proclamacion, said that Quene Katharyn was Quene, And that Nan Bullen shuld not be Quene, nor the King to be no King but on his bering.

Also S^r^ John Haworthe preist examyned, saith upon his othe that he herd the said S^r^ Jamys saye that Quene Katharyn shuld be Quene, and as for Nan Bullen who the devell made her Quene; and as for the King shuld not be King but on his bering.

Also William Dalton squyer examyned, and sworn upon a boke, deposith and saith that after that on S^r^ Richard Clerke had redde the said proclamacion,

he redde certyn articles in the said proclamacion to the said S^r^ Jamys with certeyn persons ther being present; the said Sir Jamys said I will take non for Quene but Quene Katharin; who the devell made Nan Bullen that hoore Quene, for I will never take hir for Quene, and the King on his bering: and then the said William said hold thy peace thou wots not what thou sais, and, but that thou art a preist, I shuld punyshe the that other should take ensample.

John Dalton th'elder, gentilman, sworn and examyned, saith, that he was present when William Dalton squyer redde the said proclamacion, and the said Sir Jamys said I will call hir Quene Katharyn lettyng for noman, for Nan Bulleyn that noghty pake[a] or hoore, I do not remember whether, who the devell made hir Quene; and the King shalbe no King but on his bering.

Thomas Lathom the yonger, sworn and examyned, deposith and saith that, after that, a nother tyme, the same day and yere above said that S^r^ Jamys Harrison said that Nan Bullen that hoore shall not be Quene.

Jamys Woddes, sworn and examyned, deposith and saithe that he herd the proclamacion redde in the Howse of John Blackston's and the said S^r^ Jamys said then that he wold not take non for the Quene but Quene Katharin; and as for Nan Bulleyn that hoore shalbe no Quene.

[a] *paikie*, a female street walker, a trull. JAMIESON.

Adam Banaster, sworn and examyned, deposith and saith that S^r^ Jamys Harrison the xxiiij Day of July in the howse of Thomas Grauesyns said that he wold never take Nan Bulleyn for Quene, to be hanged for the same, but for Nan Bulleyn.

Richard Sumner and John Clayton, sworn and examyned, deposen and say that they came in cumpenny with the said S^r^ Jamys Harrison from the town of Perbalt to Eccleston, where the said Sir Jamys said unto theym this is a mervelous world, the King will put down the order of Preists and distroye the Sacrament, but that will be as Thomas Dykonson said, that it cannot reign longe, for he saithe that Yorke wilbe London hastelye.

by Your humblyst and obedyent servants

E. DERBY.

HENR. FARYNGTEN K^T^

LETTER CXVI.

Queen Anne Boleyn to Thomas Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. V. fol. 330 b. *Orig.*]

*** From the following Letter, if from no other source, it may be gathered that Anne Boleyn favoured the dissemination of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Her own copy of Tyndal's translation of "The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, Anno M. D. xxxiiij." is still extant among the Books bequeathed, in 1799, to the British Museum, by the rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. It is upon vellum, illuminated. Upon the gilding of the leaves, in a red letter, are the words ANNA REGINA ANGLIÆ.

ANNE THE QUENE. By the Quene.

TRUSTIE and right welbiloued we grete you well. And where as we be crediblie enformed that the berer hereof Richard Herman marchaunte and citizen of Antwerpe in Brabant was in the tyme of the late lorde Cardynall put and expelled frome his fredome and felowshipe of and in the Englishe house there, for nothing ells (as he affermethe) but oonly for that that he[a] dyd bothe with his gooddis and pollicie, to his greate hurte and hynderans in this Worlde, helpe to the settyng forthe of the Newe Testamente in Englisshe. We therefore desire and instantly praye you that with all spede and favoure convenient ye woll cause this good and honeste marchaunt, being my Lordis true faithfull and loving subjecte, restored to his pristine fredome, libertie, and felowshipe aforesaid, and the soner at this oure requeste, and at your good leyser to here hym in suche thinges as he hathe to make further relacion unto you in this behalf. Yeven undir our Signete at my Lordis manoure of Grenewiche the xiiijth daye of May.

To our trustie and right welbeloved
Thomas Crumwell squyer Chief Secretary
unto my Lorde the Kings Highnes.

[a] The words "still like a good crysten man" are here obliterated: the pen having been drawn across them.

LETTER CXVII.

Sir Thomas More to King Henry the Eighth; a Letter of submission and excuse.

[FROM THE CHAPTER HOUSE AT WESTMINSTER.]

*** This Letter, which is one of the best specimens of Sir Thomas More's style, has been published before, but with a different spelling, with one or two small variations, and with the omission of the last sentence. Under these circumstances, the original having occurred in a Collection of detached Papers in the Chapter House at Westminster, it has been thought that the republication of it in the present Volume would not be unacceptable.

There are one or two passages in this Letter from which it may be gathered that King Henry the Eighth had condescended to use great familiarity with Sir Thomas More. Erasmus has said much upon this subject in his Letters. Of Sir Thomas More's embassies abroad, he says, "Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem, in qua cum se cordatissime gessisset, non conquievit serenissimus Rex Henricus, ejus nominis octavus, donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus unquam vehementius ambiit in aulam admitti, quam hic studuit effugere. Verum, cum esset optimo Regi in animo, familiam suam eruditis, gravibus, cordatis, et integris viris differtam reddere, cum alios permultos, tum MORUM in primis accivit, QUEM SIC IN INTIMIS HABET, UT A SE NUNQUAM PATIATUR DISCEDERE. SIVE SERIIS UTENDUM EST, NIHIL ILLO CONSULTIUS, SIVE VISUM EST REGI FABULIS AMŒNIORIBUS LAXARE ANIMUM, NULLUS COMES FESTIVIOR. Sæpe res arduæ judicem gravem et cordatum postulant, has sic Morus discutit, ut utraque pars habeat gratiam. Nec tamen ab eo quisquam impetravit, ut munus à quoquam acciperet. Felices res publicas, si Mori similes magistratus ubique præficeret Princeps."[a]

Another circumstance connected with the subject of this Letter, also occurs in Erasmus's Epistles: and does not seem to have been known to our historians. It is that upon Wolsey's fall, Henry pressed Cranmer to take the Chancellorship more than once, *before he offered it to Sir* THOMAS MORE. The whole passage which contains this fact is curious: for it also contains abuse of Wolsey whom Erasmus had so often and so courtingly praised. It is as follows:

[a] Desid. Erasmi Epist. CCCXLVII. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1706. tom. I. col. 416.

" Cardinalis Eboracensis sic offendit animum regium, ut spoliatus bonis et omni dignitate, tueatur, non in carcere, sed in quodam ipsius prædio, adhibitis triginta duntaxat seu famulis seu custodibus. Proferuntur in illum querelæ innumeræ, ut vix existiment effugere posse capitis supplicium. Hic est fortunæ ludus, ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum; nam plane regnabat verius quam ipse Rex. *Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine.* Paucis ante diebus quam caperetur, curaverat Richardum Pacæum conjiciendum in carcerem, ac minitabatur etiam meo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ante ruinam exaltuntur spiritus ait Salomon. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis *vocatus, imo revocatus est* AD CANCELLARII MUNUS, quo non aliud in Anglia majus: sed is excusavit ætatem, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata est THOMÆ MORO, magno omnium applausu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitia subvectus, quam dejectus Cardinalis."[a]

HIT may lyke your Highnes to call to your graciouse remembraunce, that at such tyme as of that great weighty rome and office of your Chauncellor, with which, so far above my merits or qualitees able and mete, therefore your Highnes had of your incomparable goodnes honored and exalted me, ye were so good and graciouse unto me as at my pore humble suit to discharge and disburden me; geving me lycence with your graciouse favor to bestow the resydew of my lyfe to come abowt the provysion for my soule in the servyce of God, and to be your bedisman and pray for you. It pleased your Highnes ferther to say unto me, that for the service which byfore I had done yow (which it than lyked your goodnes far above my deserving to commend) that in eny suit that I shold after have to your Grace, that either shold concerne myn honor (that word it lyked your Highnes to use unto me) or that

[a] Erasmi Epist. MCLI. Joann. Vergaræ. ut supr. tom II. col. 1348.

shold perteyne unto my profit, I shold fynde your Highnes good and graciouse lord unto me. So is it now graciouse Soverayne that worldely honor is the thing wherof I have resigned both the possession and the desyre, in the resignation of your moost honorable office; and worldely profit I trust experience proveth, and dayly more and more shall prove, that I never was very gredy thereon. But now is my moost humble suit unto your excellent Highnes, partely to byseche the same some what to tendre my pore honestie, how beit, pryncipally that of your accustomed goodnes no synistre information move your noble Grace to have eny more distrust of my trowth and devotion toward you than I have or shall during my lyfe geve the cause. For in this mater of the wykked woman of Canterbery, I have unto your trusty Counsailor Mr Thomas Cromwell, by my writing, as playnely declared the trowth as I possibly can, which my declaration, of his dewty toward your grace and his goodnes toward me, he hath, I understand, declared unto your grace; in eny parte of all which my dealing, whither eny other man may peradventure put eny dowt, or move eny scruple of suspition, that can I neither tell nor lyeth in my hand to lett; but unto my selfe it is not possible eny parte of my sayed demeanure to seme evyll: the very clerenes of myn awne conscience knoweth in all the mater my minde an entent so good. Wherfore moost graciouse

Soverayne I neither will, nor it can bycome me, with your Highnes to reason or argue the mater; but in my moost humble maner prostrate at your graciouse feete I ownely besech your Majestie with your awne high prudence, and your accustomed goodnes, consydre and way the mater: and thatt if, in your so doing, your awne vertuouse mynde shall geve yow that notwithstanding the manifold excellent goodnes that your graciouse Highnes hath by so many maner wayes used unto me, I be a wreche of such a monstruouse ingratitude as could with eny of theym all or eny other person lyvinge digresse from my bounden dewtie of allegeaunce toward your good Grace, than desyre I no ferther favor at your graciouse hands than the losse of all that ever I may lese, goods, lands, libertie, and my life with all, whereof the keping of eny parte unto my selfe could never do me penyworth of pleasure. But onely shold my cumforte be, that after my short lyfe and your long (which with continuall prosperitie to Godds pleasure our Lord for his mercy send yow) I shold onys mete your Grace and be mery agayne with yow in hevyn, where among myn other pleasures this shold yit be one, that your Grace shold surely se there than, that howsoever yow take me, I am your trew bedisman now, and ever have bene, and will be till I dye, how so ever your pleasure be to do by me. How be it, if in the considering of my cause, your high wisedom and gra-

ciouse goodnes perceive, as I veryly trust in God yow shall, that I nowe [a] other wise have demeaned my self than well may stand with my bounden dutie of faithfulnes toward your roiall Maiestie; than [b], in my moost humble wise, I beseche your moost noble Grace that the knowledge of your trew graciouse persuation in that byhalfe may releve the turment of my present hevynes, conceived of the drede and fere by that I here such a grevouse byll put by your lerned Counsaille into your high Cort of Parleament agaynst me; leste your Grace myght by some synistre information be moved eny thing to thinke the contrary, which if your Hignes do not (as I trust in God and your great goodnes the mater by your awne high prudence examined and considered ye will not,) than in my moost humble maner I beseche your Highnes ferther, (albe it that in respecte of my formare requeste this other thing is very sleight,) yit sith your Highnes hath here byfore of your mere habundaunt goodnes heped and accumulate uppon me, thowgh I was thereto very far unworthy, fro tyme to tyme, both wurshipp and great honor, to sith I now have left all such things, and nothing seke or desyre but the lyfe to come and pray for your grace the while it may lyke your highnes of your accustumed benignitie some what to tendre my pore honestie, and never suffre by the meane of such a byll put forth agaynst me eny man take occasion hereafter

[a] no. [b] than.

untrewely to slander me; which thinge shold yit by the perell of theyr own soule, do theym selfe more harme than me which shall I trust settle myn hart with your graciouse favor, to depende uppon the cumfort of the trowth and hope of hevyn, and not uppon the fallible opinion or sone spoken words of lightsome chaungeable peple And thus, most dredd and most dere soverayne Lord, I beseche the blessed Trinitie preserve your moost noble Grace, both body and soule, and all that are your well wyllers, and amend all the contrary; among whom if ever I be or ever have bene one, than pray I God that he may with myn open shame and destruction declare it. At my pore howse in Chelcith the vth day of Marche by the knowen rude hand of your moost humble and moost hevy faithful subjette and bedisman

THO. MORE K^{T}

LETTER CXVIII.

Sir William Kingston to Secretary Cromwell, upon Queen Anne's committal to the Tower.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 225.]

*** Six Letters are now presented to the Reader, relating to the ARREST *and* BEHAVIOUR IN PRISON of Queen Anne Boleyn. They are given as they exist at present; in part mutilated by the ravages of the fire of 1731. Of Anne Boleyn's conviction we know nothing beyond the fact. The judicial documents relating to her Trial are stated to have perished: but whether destroyed by Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth is not known.

Anne Boleyn's last memorable Letter to King Henry the Eighth, "from her doleful prison in the Tower," is omitted in this Collection. It is universally known as one of the finest compositions in the English Language, and is only mentioned here, to obviate a notion which has gone abroad against it as a forgery.

The Original, it is believed, is not remaining now: but the Copy of it preserved among Lord Cromwell's papers together with Sir William Kyngston's Letters, is certainly in a hand-writing of the time of Henry the Eighth: and Sir William Kyngston's evidence will show that Anne was too closely guarded to allow of any one concerting such a Letter with her. That it rises in style above Anne Boleyn's other compositions cannot be disputed, but her situation was one which was likely to rouse a cultivated mind; and there is a character of nature in the Letter, a simplicity of expression, and a unity of feeling, which it may be doubted whether Genius itself could have feigned. The pity of posterity has been more fixed upon Anne Boleyn by that Letter, than by all the cruel circumstances related in her Story.

Who was Sir William Kyngston? is a question, which they who peruse the Letters immediately before the reader, will in all probability indignantly ask.

Sir William Kyngston, as the Letters will show, was the Lieutenant of the Tower; he was also Captain of the King's Guard; and at one time treasurer of his Household. He was in the confidence of the King, and his office of Lieutenant of the Tower gave him access to the royal person at any hour, even of the night. He was evidently a man of a stern unfeeling character. When the Earl of Northumberland had arrested Wolsey upon his last journey, Cavendish named to the Cardinal that the King had sent Mr. Kyngston and twenty four of the guard, to conduct Wolsey to his Highness. "Mr. Kyngston, quoth he, rehersing his name once or twice; and with that clapped his hand on his thigh and gave a deep sigh."

Wolsey was not unacquainted with this man, nor with the secrets of his Office. When Kyngston made all those professions of homage and respect which Wolsey had been used to in his better days; he simply said, "Mr. Kingston, all the comfortable words ye have spoken to me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's Paradise: *I know what is provided for me.*" [a]

Thys ys to advertyse you apon my Lord of Norfolk and the Kyngs Counsell depart . . . from the Towre I went before the Quene in to hyr lodgyng,

[a] Cavend. Life of Wolsey, Wordsw. edit. p. 531.

& . . .[a] sayd unto me M. Kyngston shall I go in to adungyn. Now Madam y . .[b] shall go into your logyng that you lay in at your Coronacion. It ys to gu . .[c] for me, she sayd, Jesu have mercy on me: and kneled downe wepynga . . . . . pace, and in the same sorow fell in to agret lawyng, and she hathe done . .[d] mony tymes syns. And then she desyred me to move the Kyngs Hynes that she . . .[e] have the sacarment in the closet by hyr chambr, that she my . . . . . for mercy, for I am as clere from the company of man, as for s . . . . . am clere from you, and am the Kyngs trew wedded wyf; and then sh . . . . . M. Kyngston do you know wher for I am here, and I sayd nay, and then . . . . . when saw you the Kyng and I sayd I saw hym not syns I saw . . . . . the Tylte yerde and then M. K. I pray you to tell me wher my . . . . ford[f] ys, and I told hyr I saw hym afore dyner in the cort. O. . . . . my swet brod'er. I sayd I left hym at York place, and so I dyd I . . . . . d she that I shuld be accused with iij men and I can say . . . . . nay withyowt I shuld oppen my body and ther with opynd . . . . . res Hast thow accused me thow ar in the towre with me, & . . . . . : . . l dy to gether and marke thou art here to O my mother . . . . : . . for sorow and meche lamented my lady of Wor-

[a] *f.* she. [b] you. [c] gude. [d] *f.* so. [e] *f.* might. [f] *f.* my lord Rochford.

cet' for by ca . . . . dyd not store in hyr body, and my wyf sayd what shuld . . . . . sayd for the sorow she toke for me: and then she sayd M. K . . . . . with yowt just[s]; & I sayd the porest sugett the Kyng . . . . . ther with she lawed. All thys sayings was yester ny . . . . . & thys moryng dyd talke with mestrys Cofy . . . . . .res [a] dyd say on Sunday last unto the Quenes amn . . . . . ere for the Quene that she was a gud woman . . . . Cofyn, Madam why shuld ther be hony seche maters . . . . . sayd she I bad hym do so for I asked hym why he . . . . . hys maryage and he made ansur he wold tary. . . . . loke for ded mens showys, for yf owth can . . . . . you wold loke to have mo; and he sayd yf he . . . . . he wold hys hed war of, and then she sayd . . . . . and ther with thay fell yowt bot . . . . . on Wysson twysday monday last . . . . . r that Nores cam mode u . . . . . age and further . . . . . .

Wher I was commaunded to charge the gentelwemen that y gyf thaye atende apon the Quene that ys to say thay shuld have now commynycaseon with hyr in lese[b] my wyf ware present, and so I dyd hit, notwithstaundyng it canot be: for my lady Bolen and mestrys Co-

[a] *f.* Norres. See Lord Herbert, p. 302. [b] unless.

fyn lyes on the Quenes palet, and I and my wyf at the dore with yowt so at[a] thay most nedes talke at[a] be without; bot I have every thyng told me by mestrys Cofyn that she thynks met for mee to knowe, and tother ij gentelwemen lyes with yowt me and as I may knowe . . . Kyngs plesur in the premysses I shall folow. From the Towre this mo . . . . .

S^r^ syns the makyng of thys letter the Quene spake of West[b] . . . . . had spoke to hym by cause he dyd love hyr kynswoma . . . . . he sayd he loved not hys wyf and he made anser to hyr . . . . . loved won in hyr howse bettr then them bothe . . . . . that it ys your self and then she defyed hym.

WILLM KYNG . . .

LETTER CXIX.

Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell, on Queen Annes behaviour in Prison.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 222.]

AFTER your departyng yesterday, Greneway gentilman ysshar cam to me, & . . . M. Caro and Mast' Bryan commanded hym in the Kyngs name to my . .[c] Ratchfort from my lady hys wyf, and the message was now more . . . . . se how he dyd; and

[a] that. [b] Sir Francis Weston. [c] Lord of.

also she wold humly sut unto the Kyngs Hy . . . . . for hyr husband; and so he gaf hyr thanks, and desyred me to know . . . . tyme he shuld cum affore the Kyngs counsell, for I thynk I s . . . . . cum forthe tyll I cum to my Jogement, wepyng very . . . . . I departed from hym, and when I cam to the chambr the . . . . . [a] of me and sent for me, and sayde I here say my lord my . . . [b] here; it ys trowth sayd I; I am very glad, sayd sh . . . . . bothe be so ny together; and I showed hyr here wase . . . . Weston and Brerton, and she made very gud countenans . . . . I also sayd M. Page and Wyet wase mo, then she sayd he ha . . . . on hys fyst tother day and ye here now bot ma . . . . . I shall desyre you to bayre a Letter from me . . . . . Secretory; and then I sayd madam tell it me by . . . . . will do it, and so gaf me thanks saying I ha . . . . . that the Kyng's Counsell comes not to me and thys . . . . . sayd we shuld have now rayne tyll she ware . . . . . of the Towre. I pray you it may be shortly by . . . . . fayre wether. You know what I mayne the Quen . . . . . nyght that the Kyng wyst what he dyd wh . . . . . ij abowt hyr as my lady Boleyn and Mestres . . . . . Thay cowd tell hyr now thyng of my . . . . . nothyng ellys bot she defyed them all b . . . . . sayd to hyr seche desyre as you heve ha

[a] *f.* Quene heard of me. [b] *f.* brother is.

. . . . . hase browthe you to thys and then sayd . . . . . ys the worst cherysshe of heny m . . . . . wayres yernes she sayd that was . . . . . gentelman bot he wase never in m . . . . . ther she sent for hym to ple . . . . logyng was . . . .

prest that wayted apon hym withe . . . . . .
. . . t unto hym and he ansured him agayn . . .
. . . . . ny thyng of my confession he
ys worthye to have . . . . . hyt I defy
hym; and also he desyreth to hav . . . . . .
. . lf anowre yf it may be the Kyngs plesur .

WILLM KYNG . . .

LETTER CXX.

Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell, with further details of the Queen's conduct.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 224 b.]

S^r^ the Quene hathe meche desyred to have here in the closet the sacarments, & also hyr Amner who she supposeth to be Devet; for won owre she ys determyned to dy, and the next owre meche contrary to that. Yesterday after your departyng I sent for my wyf, & also for mestrys Coffyn to know how the[a] had done that day, thay sayd she had bene very mery and made agret dyner, and yet sone after she called for hyr supper, havyng marvell wher I was all day; and after supper she sent for me, and at my commyng she sayd "Wher have you bene all day," and I mad ansure I had bene with prysoners, "so" she sayd "I thowth I hard M. tresur . . ." I ansured he was not here; then she be gan talke and sayd I was crevely handeled . . . . agreweche with the Kyngs Counsell with my lord of

[a] they.

Norfolke that he sayd . . . . and shakyng hyr hed iij or iiij tymes, and as for Master Tresurer he was in the T . . . . You know what she meynes by that, and named M^r^. Controler to be avery go . . . . . she to be a Quene and crevely handeled as was never sene; bot I . . . . . dose it to prove me, and dyd lawth with all and was very mery and th . . . . . ists and then I sayde have now dowt ther . . . then she sayd yf hony man . . . . . ay & thay can bring now wytnes, and she had talked with the gentell . . . . . sayd I knew at Marks commyng to the Towre that nyght I reysayved . . . . . at it was x. of the cloke or he ware well loged and then she sayd . . . . . knew of Nores goyng to the towre and then she sayd I had . . . . . next yf it had bene leyd she had wone, and then she sayd I w . . . . . y bysshoppys for thay wold all go to the Kyng for me for I thy . . . . . Yngland prays for me and yf I dy you shall se the grette . . . . . e withyn thys vij yere that ever cam to Yngland, & then sh . . . . . I have done mony gud dedys in my days bot zit I thynke . . . . . Kyng to put seche abowt me as I never loved: I showed . . . . . to be honest and gud wemen bot I wold have had . . . . . br weche I favor most &c.

WILLM KYNGST . .

To Mast^r^. Secretory.

LETTER CXXI.

Edward Baynton to the Treasurer: declaring that only one person named Mark, will confess any thing against Queen Anne.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 209. b.]

M^R^ THESAURER this shalbe to advertyse yow that here is myche communycacion that noman will confesse any thyng agaynst her, but allonly Marke of any actuell thynge. Wherfore (in my folishe conceyte) it shulde myche toche the Kings hono^r^ if it shulde no farther appeere. And I cannot beleve but that the other two bee as f . . . culpapull as ever was hee. And I thynke assur . . . . the on kepith the others councell. As many . . . . conjectures in my mynde causeth me to thynk . . . specially of the communycacion that was last bet . . . the Quene and Master Norres. M^r^ Aumener . . . me as I wolde I myght speke with M^r^ S . . . . . and yow together more playnely expresse my . . . yf case be that they have confessyd like wret . . . all thyngs as they shulde do than my n . . . . . at apoynte. I have mewsed myche at . . . . . of mastres Margery whiche hath used her . . . . strangely toward me of late being her fry . . .[a] as I have ben. But no dowte it cann . . . . but that

[a] *f.* frynd.

she must be of councell therewith . . . . hath ben great fryndeship betwene the Q . . . . . her of late. I herefarther that the Que . . standith styfly in her opynyon that she wo . . . . . whiche I thynke is in the trust that she . . . . ther two. But if yo^{r} busynes be suche . . . . . not com I wolde gladly com and wayte . . . . . ke it requysyte. From Grenewy . . . . . mornyng.

EDWARD . . . . .

LETTER CXXII.

Sir William Kyngston to Secretary Cromwell, May 16th 1536, *upon the preparations for the execution of my Lord Rochford and Queen Anne.*

[HARL. MS. 283. fol. 134. *Orig.*]

SIR

THYS day I was with the Kyng's Grace and declared the petysyons of my Lord of Rochford wherin I was answred. Sir the sayd Lord meche desyreth to speke with you, weche towchet hys consyens meche as he sayth, wherin I pray you I may know your plesur, for by cause of my promysse made unto my sayd Lord to do the same, and also I shall desyre you fur-

ther to know the Kyngs plesur towchyng the Quene, as well for her comfyt as for the preparacion of skefolds and hother necessarys consernyng. The Kyngs grace showed me that my lord of Cantorbury shuld be hyr confessar, and was here thys day with the Quene; & not[a] in that mater, Sir, the tyme ys short, for the Kyng supposeth the gentelmen to dy to morow, and my lord of Rocheford with the reysydew of gentelmen, & as zit with yowt . . . . .[b] weche I loke for, bot I have told my lord of Rocheford that he be in aredynes to morow to suffur execusyon, and so he accepse[c] it very well, and will do his best to be redy, Notwithstandyng he wold have reysayved hys ryghts, weche hathe not bene used and in especiall here. Sir I shall desyre you at[d] we here may know the Kyngs plesur here as shortly as may be, at[d] we here may prepayre for the same weche[e] ys necessary, for the same we here have now may for to do execusyon. Sir I pray you have gud rymembrance in all thys for hus[f] to do, for we shalbe redy al ways to our knowlage. Zit thys day at dyner the Quene sayd at[d] she shuld go to Anvures[g] & ys in hope of lyf, and thus far you well.

WILLM KYNGSTON.

[a] note. [b] *f.* confession. [c] accepts. [d] that. [e] *i. e.* what.
[f] us. [g] Anvers, Antwerp.

LETTER CXXIII.

Sir William Kingston to Lord Cromwell, apparently May 18th 1536.

[MS. COTTON. OTHO C. X. fol. 223.]

SYR thys shalbe to advertyse you I have resayved your Lett' wherin yo . . . .[a] have strangerys conveyed yowt of the Towre and so thay be by the . . . . of Richard Gressum, & Will-m Loke, & Wythepoll, bot the umbr[b] of stra . . . not xxx. and not mony; Hothe and the inbassit'of the emperor had a . . . . ther and honestly put yowt. S[r] yf we have not anowre[c] serten . . . .[d] be knowen in London, I thynke he[e] wilbe bot few and I thynk . . . .[f] humbur[g] ware bes: for I suppose she wyll declare hyr self to b . . . .[h] woman for all men bot for the Kyng at the o[r] of hyr de[i] . . . . . morn-yng[k] she sent for me that I myght be with hyr at . . . . . asshe reysayved the gud lord to the in tent I shuld here hy . . . . towchyng hyr innosensy alway to be clere & in the writy . . . . . she sent for me, and at my commyng she sayd M. Kyngston I he . . . . . [l] not dy affore none, & I am very sory ther fore; for I thowth . . . . bedede . . d past my payne. I told hyr it shuld be now payne it

[a] *f.* you would have. [b] number. [c] an hour. [d] as it may be. *L. Herb.* [e] here. [f] a reasonable. *L. Herb.* [g] number. [h] be a. *L. Herb.* [i] death. [k] for this morning. *L. Herb.* [l] I heard say I shall not. *L. Herb.*

w . . . . . [a] hard say the execut[r] was very gud and I have a lyt . . . . . r[b] hand abowt it lawyng hartely.

I have sen . . . . . also wemen executed and at[c] they have bene in gre . . . . . ige. Thys Lady hasse meche joy and plesur in dethe . . . . . newaly with hyr and hasse bene syns ij of the co . . . . . the effect of hony thyng that ys here at t . . . . . well

Your . . . .

WILLM KY . . . . .

To Mast[r]. Secretory.

The names of those who were called Anne Boleyn's accusers have occurred in the preceding Letters.

The close of her catastrophe shall be detailed in the words of Burnet:

"A little before noon, being the 19th. of May, she was brought to the Scaffold, where she made a short speech to a great company that came to look on the last scene of this fatal Tragedy: the chief of whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London. She said she was come to die, as she was judged by the Law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and called him a most merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her, a good, gentle, sovereign lord: and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her devotions, being her last words 'to Christ I commend my Soul,' her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, who was brought over as more expert at beheading than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; but her body was thrown into a common chest of elm tree, that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock.

"Her brother with the other four did also suffer. None of them were quartered, but they were all beheaded, except Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that confession, and had his

[a] was so sotell. *Herb.* [b] a lyttel neck and put her hand. *Herb.* [c] that.

life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the King's favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the Queen. But he generously rejected that unhandsome proposition, and said that in his conscience he thought her innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of any thing, and he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person." [a]

On the day of the execution, Henry the Eighth put on white for mourning, as though he would have said, 'I am innocent of this deed:' and the next day was married to Jane Seymour.

The good Melanchton, whose visit to England was prevented by the afflicting news of the Queen's execution, has elegantly expressed his opinion of her innocence, in a letter to Joachim Camerarius, dated on the fifth of the ides of June 1536:

"Angliæ profecto his curis prorsus liberatus sum. Postquam enim tam tragici casus in Anglia acciderunt, magna consiliorum mutatio secuta est. Posterior REGINA, MAGIS ACCUSATA quam CONVICTA ADULTERII, ultimo supplicio affecta est. Quam mirabiles sunt rerum vices, mi Joachime, quantam Dei iram omnibus hominibus denunciant, in quantas calamitates etiam ex summo fastigio potentissimi homines hoc tempore decidunt. Hæc cum cogito, etiam nobis ærumnas nostras et nostra pericula æquiore animo ferenda esse disputo." [b]

To some it has been a cause of surprize, that Anne Boleyn should have passed an encomium upon Henry the Eighth at her death. Indeed it is remarkable that at almost every execution in that sanguinary period, the praise of the Sovereign was pronounced by those who fell upon the scaffold. It seems to have been so directed by the Government. Tyndale, from whose "Practice of Prelates" we have already made an extract respecting the disclosure of Confessions, has another passage upon *this point*, too important not to be given here:

"When any GREAT MAN is put to death, how his Confessore entreateth him; and what penance is enjoyned him concerning what he shall say when he cometh unto the place of execution. I coude gesse at a practyse that might make mennes eares glowe." [c]

In Anne Boleyn's case, however, it may be in part ascribed to anxiety for the safety of her daughter.

Anne Boleyn's execution was a fatal precedent for succeeding times. Henry having beheaded one Queen, proceeded fearlessly to the beheading of another. Elizabeth familiarized the application of the axe to royalty one step farther; for she beheaded a foreign Queen who had taken shelter in her dominions. Half a Century later, and the people beheaded their Sovereign.

[a] Burnet, Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 205. [b] Melancht. Epist. 8° Lips. 1569.
[c] Pract. of Prelates, 12° Marborch, 1530.

LETTER CXXIV.

Lady Rocheford to Secretary Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 109 b. *Orig.*]

*** The profligate woman whose smooth Letter now presents itself, was the wife of the viscount Rochford, the brother of Anne Boleyn[a]. Her calumnies against that injured Queen were equally void of truth and humanity. She even pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister.

Her career, however, was not of long duration. She entangled herself with the real amours of Queen Catherine Howard, and, as will be seen hereafter, fell with her upon the scaffold in 1542, unpitied.

The Bill of Attainder of Queen Catherine Howard, stat. 33 Hen. VIII. ch. xxi. states that the Queen had met Culpeper "in a secret and vyle place, and that, at an undue hower of xi. a clocke in the night, and so remayned there with him till three of the clocke in the morninge, none being with them but that *Bawde* the LADY JANE ROCHFORD, by whose meanes Culpeper came thither."

MAYSTER Secretory, as a power desolat wydow wythoute comffort, as to my specyall trust under God and my Pryns, I have me most humbly recommendyd unto youe; prayng youe, after your accustemyd gentyll maner to all them that be in suche lamentabull case as I ame in, to be meane to the Kyngs gracyous Hyghnes for me for suche power stuffe and plate as my husbonde had, whome God pardon; that of hys gracyous and mere lyberalyte I may have hyt to helpe me to my power lyvyng, whiche to his Hyghnes ys nothynge to be regardyd, and to me schuld be a most hygh helpe and souccor. And farther more, where that the

[a] She was daughter of Henry Parker, son of Henry Parker Lord Morley and Montegle, who died in his father's lifetime. See Dugd. Baron. tom. ii. p. 307.

Kyngs Hyghnes and my Lord my father payed great soms of money for my Joynter to the Errell of Wyltchere to the some off too thowsand Marks, and I not assuryd of no more duryng the sayd Errells naturall lyff then one hundreth Marke; whyche ys veary hard for me to schyffte the worldd wythall. That youe wyll so specyally tender me in thys behalff as to enforme the Kyngs Hyghnes of these premysses, wherby I may the more tenderly be regardyd of hys gracyous persone, youre Worde in thys schall be to me a sure helpe: and God schall be to youe therfore a sure reward, whyche dothe promes good to them that dothe helpe powere forsaken Wydos. And bothe my prayer and servys schall helpe to thys duryng my naturall lyff, as most bounden so to doo, God my wyttnes; whoo ever more preserve you.

JANE ROCHEFORD.

LETTER CXXV.

John de Ponte, a poor Frenchman, to Secretary Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 358. *Orig.*]

Juste deprecantibus nichil denegari debet. 1536.

MONS^r^ I beseche God geve yow thesame that your noble hert desyreth, and Victorye agenst your Enemyes. Amen.

Mons^r truth it is that the furst day of Juny, the vicary of Honnyngton and an other prest prayd me to dyne with them in John Bould's house at the signe of the golden Lyon. I went thether with them, and an other named Granger and M^r Nedersolles wiff and M^r Wrakes wiffe, and of John Bould, all of Dover were there at dyner. Whan we had half dyned, one of the Masters of Godds Howses sernamit called Trasse, sayd that he had newes for the company touching Quene Katherine. Saying that the day afore my lady Anne was behedded, the tapers aboute the said quene Katherine sepulchres kendeld of them selfs and after matynes were don to *Deo gratias* the said tapers qwenched of them selfs; and that the King sent xxx. men to the Abbaye wher quene Katherine was buryed; and it was true of this light contynuyng from day to daye with suche a token that within fewe days ther shuld be geven a commaundement to pray for quene Katherine as it was acoustomed to be don: and that after the same a grete hepe of heretiks and newe invencions shuld be hanged and brent; as I who was the gretest heretik of England and a false knave; and that shortely I shuld be befor the Kings Conseill, like a false knave that I was, for certayn matiers whiche he knew well, whiche he wold not saye for that tyme: and that I shuld merke well what he said. After that I had heard all his sayng and words, I said, merk well what this man saieth of me. I said unto hym that he spak

moche to my dishonour saing that I was a grete heretike, and that I shuld be hanged and brent. Askyng whether he had heard me preache or spek heresye, he sayd ys, and that I had eaten mylk, butter, and eggs. I said that I had eaten milk and butter, and that it was no heresie: but as for eggs I did eate non for I loved them not. He said unto me agayn that ther wer ferre other things whiche he wold not saye, but that I was a false Frenshe knave, with great injuries. I toke patiently feare lest he shuld strikke me, for he had a swerd and a dagger. I tok witnesses, and all the companye said unto hym that he shuld be content and that I was not of suche as he spake of. He said that his mouth was afore and that he shuld hold befor the Kings Counseill the same that he had spoken. Mons^r I put myself to your good Grace I being true; deale with me: as it shal please you pleaseth me. I am the Kings and Yours in every thing unto deth. Praying God that he geve you grace to continue in helth. Amen. The your servaunt and lesse of your servants Mon^sr Jehan de Ponte.

De Ponte, the furst day of Juny

N^a Mons^r ye owe to be advertissed that I am in danger to be kylled of them of Godds house; and I deare not abyde in the Chapell for feare of them. They wolld that I should flye in to Fraunce for their threatenyngs, and they put me in feare; but I shall neve do dishonor to my frends. But if it shal please You to

geve me leave, I had lieve to go away then to be kylled withoute desserte. Mons^r I wold ye shuld knowe the love of my hert as it is unto deth.

To Mons^r Mons^r Thomas Cromwell tan secretary to the King the right myghty King of England at the Courte.

LETTER CXXVI.

Edmund Knightley, and three other Commissioners, to Secretary Cromwell, in favor of the Nunnery of Catesby in Northamptonshire.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 209. *Orig.*]

*** The Cottonian manuscript CLEOPATRA E. IV., whence this and some of the succeeding Letters have been copied, is a more curious Volume of its kind, than any which is known to exist elsewhere. It consists of Papers and Letters, the latter written chiefly to Lord Cromwell, at the time of the Dissolution of Religious Houses; a portion of which are Reports from certain Commissioners sent to take the various Surrenders.

To defame, that ruin might be more certainly accomplished, was the object of the visiting Commissioners to the Monasteries in numerous instances; but a few occur in which they even petitioned for the preservation of the Houses which they went to dissolve; so earnest did they find the devotion, so discrete the lives, and so great the hospitality of the Inhabitants.

The Nuns, it should appear, were more generally pitied than the Monks. Accordingly, among the Houses recommended to mercy, we find the Nunneries of Godestow in Oxfordshire, Pollesworth in Warwickshire, and CATESBY *in Northamptonshire*, standing foremost. Of the last, the Commissioners unequivocally declared that, should it please his Majesty to have any remorse, they could not name a House more mete than this to be the receiver of his charity and pity. The Letter of recommendation is here placed before the reader.

That the Nunneries were more universally intitled to compassion than the Houses of the Monks, and Canons, and Friars, cannot be denied. Hume has very justly observed, that, at the period we are now mentioning, a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a Convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her situation.

RIGHT honorable after all humble recommendations theis shalbe to advertyse you that we have byn yn execution of the Kyngs Commission directed unto us, begynnyng at Chacumbe, wher we accomplysshed all thyngs acordyng unto our Commyssion, and frome thens we repayred to Assheby, where after on days tarreyng we werre fayne to departe thens unto Catesby Nunrey by occasion of sykenesse where we have also accomplisshed the Kyngs Commyssion accordyng to his high commandement and our poore discrecions. Which Howse of Catesby we founde in very perfett order, the Priores a sure wyse, discrete, and very religyous woman, with ix. nunnys under her obedyencye, as relygious and devoute, and with as good obedyencye as we have in tyme past seen, or belyke shall see. The seid Howse standyth in suech a quarter, muche to the releff of the Kyngs people, and his Grace's pore subjects their lykewyse mooe relewed, as by the reporte of dyvers worshypfull nere ther unto adjoynyng, as of all other, yt ys to us openly declared. Wherfore yf yt shulde please the Kyngs

Highnesse to have eny remorse that eny suche relygous House shall stande, we thynke his Grace cannot appoynt eny House more mete to shew his most gracious charitie and pitey on than one[a] the seid Howse of Catesby. Ferther ye shall understande that as to her bounden dewtye towards the Kyngs Highnes in theis his affayres, also for dyscrete entertaynment of ws his commyssioners and our company, we have not fownde nor belyke shall fynde eny suche of more dyscretion. And lese peraventure theyr may be labor made to her detryment and other undoyng, before knowleg showlde cum to his Highnesse and to yow frome ws[b], yt may therfore plase yow to sygnify unto his Hyghnesse the effecte of theis our Lettres, to th'entent his Grace may stay the Graunte theyrof tyll suche tyme we may ascerteyn yow of our full certyfycat and comparts in that behalfe accordyng. Frome Catesby the xij. day off this present moneth off May, from the Kyngs Commyssioners at your commandement.

EDMOND KNYGHTLEY.
JOHN LANE.
GEORGE GYFFARD.
ROBERT BURGOYN.

[a] on. [b] us.

LETTER CXXVII.

The Prioress and Convent of the Cistercian Nunnery of Legborne in Lincolnshire to their Founder, previous to the Dissolution of their House. A. D. 1537.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 270 b. *Orig.*]

*** The Nunnery of Legborn was founded before or about the year 1150, having been removed from another place called Halington; but the name of its first founder has not come down to us.

The FOUNDER mentioned in the following Letter was the Patron, who was usually the heir-general of the individual to whose munificence the Priory or Abbey owed its first construction: and it was lawful for that heir, if the rents and profits of the endowment were not applied to the ends and uses for which they were originally given, to re-claim, and resume the lands.

These Patrons were intitled to different privileges in different Houses, according to the terms of their respective charters of foundation. To some Monasteries they presented the head or superior; in others they only approved of the election. In many they were allowed to place their children first for education, and afterwards as professed, and in others to provide their relatives with what were called corrodies.

The Monks and Nuns, in many of the Monasteries, seem hardly to have thought the lands they were possessed of secure, unless confirmed from time to time by the successive heirs, as their Patrons.

The NUNS *of* LEGBORN, it appears, conscious that their lives were irreproachable, besought their Patron to interfere in behalf of their House.

RIGHT honourable our most synguler Maister and Founder, our duetie in the humblest wise presupposed, with dayly prayer, as your perpetuall and religious beedwomen. Please yt your goodnes to undirstonde, that where as Almyghty God hath indued you w^{t} just title Founder of the Pryory of Legborne to

the great comfort of me and all my systers: we doo and shall alweyes submit ourselfs to youre most rightuouse commaundement and ordre, oonly puttyng our comfort in your goodnesse for all causes concernyng your poure Pryory of Legbourne. And where as we doo here that a grete nombre of Abbyes shalbe punysshed, subprest, and put downe bicause of their myslyvyng; and that all Abbyes and Pryores undir the value of CC^{li} be at our moste noble Prynce's pleasure to subpresse and put downe. Yet if it may pleas your goodnes, we trust in God ye shall here no compleynts agaynst us, nother in our lyvyng nor hospitalitie kepyng. In consideracion wherof if it may please your goodnes, in our great necessitie, to be a meane and sewter for your owne powre Pryory, that it maye be preserved and stond, you shalbe a more higher Founder to vs than he that first foundid oure Howse. We have noon othir comfort nor refuge but oonly unto your goodnes, and we hooly submyt our selfs to the pleasure of God, to the pleasure of our Prynce, and to the pleasure of you our Founder; and how soever it shall please God that we shalbe orderid, we shall continue your faithfull and dayly bedewomen. As knoweth oure Lorde who ever preserve you to your most comfort.

Yo^{r} owne dayly beadwomen

JANE MESSYNDYNE *Pryores*

and SISTERS *of the* PRYORY *of* LEGBORNE.

LETTER CXXVIII.

Thomas Bedyll to Lord Cromwell, respecting the Monks of the Charter House at London. A. D. 1537.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 217. *Orig.*]

*** "The nineteenth day of June," says Hall, in the 27th. of Henry VIIIth. "were thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartred at Tyborne, and their quarters set up about London, for deniyng the Kyng to be Supreme Head of the Churche. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore, and Nudigate. These men, when they were arrained at Westminster, behaved themselves very stiffly and stubbornly; for hearing their inditement red, how traiterously they had spoken against the King's Majesty, his crown, and dignity, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very foolishly and hypocritically knowledged their treason, which maliciously they avouched, having no learning for their defence; but rather being asked divers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterward in the Tower of London it did appear, for so they said, that they thought those men which were the lord Cromwell and other that there sat upon them in judgement, to be heretics and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be either answered or spoken unto. And therefore, as they deserved, they received as you have heard before."[a]

The following Letter will explain the less merciful treatment which some of the other Monks of the Charter House received.

My very good Lord, after my moost hertie commendations it shall please yor Lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here at London, whiche wer committed to Newgate for thair traitorus behavor long tyme continued against the Kings Grace, be almoost dispeched by th'and of God; as it may apper to you by this byll inclosed. Wherof considering

[a] Hall's Chron. edit. 1809. p. 817.

thair behavor and the hole mater, I am not sory, but wold that al suche as love not the Kings Highnes and his wordly[a] honor wer in like caas. My Lord (as ye may) I desir you in the wey of charite, and none other wise, to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charterhouse, which is as honest a man as ever was in that habite (or els I am muche deceyved), and is one whiche never offended the Kings grace by disobedience of his Lawes, but hath labored very sore continually for the reformation of his brethern, and now at the last, at myn exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethern to surrender thair house, lands, and goods, into the Kings hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseche you, my Lord that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help, that he be not sory, and repent that he hath fered and folowed your sore words and my gentil exhortation made unto him to surrender his said house; and think that he myght have kept the same, if yo[r] Lordshyp and I had not led him to the said surrender. But suerly (I beleve) that I knowe the man so well that how soever he be order[b] he wol-be contented without grudge. He is a man of suche charite as I have not seen the like. As towching the house of the Charterhouse I pray Good[c] if it shall please the King to alter it, that it may be turned into a better use (seing it is in the face of the world) and

[a] worldly. [b] ordered. [c] God.

muche communication wol run thereof throughout this realme; for London is the common countrey of al England, from which is derived to al parts of this realme al good and yll occurrent here. From London the xiiijth day of Juny.

By yo^{r} Lordships at
commaundement
THOMAS BEDYLL.

Ther be departed.

Brother William Greenewode.
Dane John Davye.
Brother Robert Salt.
Brother Water Peereson.
Dane Thomas Greene.

Ther be even at the poynt of dethe.

Brother Thomas Scryven.
Brother Thomas Reedyng.

Ther be sycke.

Dane Thomas Jonson.
Brother William Hore.

One is hole.

Dane Bird.

LETTER CXXIX.

Dr. John London, one of the Visitors of Religious Houses, to Lord Cromwell, upon the pulling down of the Image of our Lady of Caversham, near Reading; and in favour of the Corporation of that Town.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 225. *Orig.*]

In my most humble maner I have me commendyd unto yowr gude lordeschippe, acertenyng the same that I have pullyd down the Image of o^r^ Ladye at Caversham wherunto wasse great pilgremage. The Image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putte yt in a cheste fast lackyd [a] and naylyd uppe, and by the next bardge that commythe from Reding to London yt shall be browght to yo^r^ Lordeschippe. I have also pullyd down the place she stode in w^t^ all other ceremonyes, as lights, schrds [b], crowchys [c], and imagies of wex hangyng abowt the chapel, and have defacyed the same thorowly in exchuyng of any farther resortt thedyr. Thys chapell dydde belong to Notley abbey, and ther always wasse a chanon of that monastery wiche wasse callyd the Warden of Caversham, and he songe in thys chapell and hadde the offerings for hys lyving. He wasse acustomyd to schew many prety relyks,

[a] locked. [b] shrowds. [c] crosses.

among the wiche wer (as he made reportt) the holy dager that kylled Kinge Henry; and the holy knyfe that kylled Seynt Edwarde. All thees w^t many other, with the cots of thys image, her cappe and here, my servant shall bring unto yo^r Lordeshippe thys weke w^t the Surrendre of the Freers undre ther covent seale, and ther seale also. I have sent the chanon home agen to Notleye, and have made fast the doores of the chapell, wiche ys thorowly well covered with ledde: and if it be yo^r lordeships pleasur I shall se yt made suer to the Kings Grace's use. And if it be nott so orderyd, the chapell stondith so wildely that the ledde will be stolyn by nyzt, as I wasse servyd at the Fryers; for as soon as I hadde taken the Fryers surrendre, the multytude of the poverty of the Town resortyd thedyr and all thinge that myzt be hadde they stole away: insomyche that they hadde convayd the very clapers of the bellys. And saving that M. Fachell, wiche made me great chere at hys howse, and the Mayer dydde assist me they wolde have made no litell spoyle. In thys I have don as moche as I cowde do to save every thing to the Kings graces use, as shall apper to yo^r Lordeschippe at the begynnyng of the terme, Godde willing, who w^t increse of moche honor long preserve yo^r gudde Lordeschippe.

At Redinge xvij° Septembris.

At Caversham ys a propre lodginge wher the chanon lay, with a fayer garden and an orcherd mete to be

bestowed upon som frynde of yo[r] lordeschips in thees parties; for the chanon had no thing to do ther butt to kepe the chapell and receyve the offrings.

I besek your gudde Lordeschippe to admytt me a powr sutar for thees honest men of Redinge. They have a fayer town and many gudde occupiers in ytt; butt they lacke that howse necessary, of the wiche for the mynystration of Justice thay have most nede of. Ther Town Hall ys a very small Howse and stondith upon the ryver, wher ys the commyn wassching place of the most part of the Town; and in the cession dayes and other cowrt dayes ther ys such betyng with batildores, as oon man can nott here another, nor the guest here the chardg gevyng. The body of the Church of the Grey fryers, wiche ys selyd with laths and lyme, wold be a very commodoise rowme for them. And now I have rydde all the fasschen of that Churche in parcloses[a], ymages, and awlters, it wolde mak a gudly Town Hall. The Mayer of that Town, M[r] Richard Turner, a very honest jentill person with many other honest men hathe expressyd unto me ther gref in thys behalf, and have desyred me to be an humble sutar unto your Lordeschippe for the same if it schulde be solde. The wallys, besyd the coyne stonys, be butt chalk and flynt, and the coveryng butt tile. And if it please the King's Grace to bestow that howse upon any of hys servants, he may spare the body of the

[a] tabernacles.

churche, wich stondith next the strete, very well; and yet have rowme sufficient for a great man.

Your most bounden orator
and servant,

JOHN LONDON.

The Conventual Church of the Grey Friars, was granted to the Corporation of Reading for a Town Hall in 1543. The Messrs. Lysons say that the Corporation "having obtained the present Town Hall by Queen Elizabeth's charter in 1560, the Church of the Grey Friars was converted into a Hospital or Work House, and afterwards in 1613, into a House of Correction." A part of it was used for the same purpose within these few years, if it is not so occupied at present.

LETTER CXXX.

Elis Price to Lord Cromwell, to know what he should do with the Image of Darvell Gathern. A. D. 1538.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 55 b. *Orig.*]

Righte Honorable and my syngular goode Lorde and Mayster, all circumstauncys and thankes sett aside, pleasithe yt youre good Lordeshipe to be advertisid, that where I was constitute and made, by youre honorable desire and commaundmente, Commissarie generall of the dyosese of Saynte Assaph, I have done my dylygens and dutie for the expulsinge and takynge awaye of certen abusions, supersticions, and ipocryses,

usid within the said diosece of Saynte Assaph, accordynge to the Kynges honorable actes and injunctions therin made. That notwithstondinge there ys an Image of Darvellgadarn, within the saide diosece, in whome the people have so greate confidence, hope, and truste, that they cumme dayly a pillgramage unto hym, somme withe kyne, other with oxen or horsis, and the reste withe money: in so muche that there was fyve or syxe hundrethe pillgrames to a mans estimacion, that offered to the saide Image the fifte daie of this presente monethe of Aprill. The innocente people hathe ben sore aluryd and entisid to worshipe the saide Image, in so muche that there is a commyn sayinge as yet amongist them that who so ever will offer anie thinge to the saide Image of Darvellgadern, he hathe power to fatche hym or them that so offers oute of Hell when they be dampned. Therfore for the reformacion and amendmente of the premisses, I wolde gladlie knowe by this berer youre honorable pleasure and will; as knowithe God, who ever preserve youre Lordeshipe longe in welthe and honor. Writen in Northe Wales the vj. daye of this presente Aprill

Your bedman and dayelie
orator by dutie

ELIS PRICE.

The further history of the Image of Darvell Gathern is detailed in our Chronicles. It was brought to London and burnt with Friar Forest in Smithfield. Hall's account of the cruelty exercised on this occasion is

worth transcribing, though he appears himself to have had no pity for the Friar. One is sorry to record, in addition, that the good bishop Latimer preached on the occasion.

"In May" 30th. Hen. VIII. A. D. 1538. "there was a Friar, called friar Forest, one of the Observant Friars" of Greenwich, "but he might have been" says Hall "more truly named an Obstinate Friar. This obstinate Friar had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the King's subjects that the King was not supreme Head, and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the King was not Supreme Head of the Church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary. He answered that he took his oath with the outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto. At this answer the Lords who examined him looked very strangely at the dissimulation of the Friar; but being further accused of diverse heretical and damnable articles that he held, contrary to the Scripture of God, he was after sundry examinations convinced and confuted, and gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the Church. But upon this his submission, having more liberty than before he had, as well to talk with whom he would, as also who that would to talk with him; certain such outward men as he was, so talked with him, and so incensed him, that the outward Friar was as far from his open submission as ever he was, and when his abjuration was sent to him to read and look upon, he utterly refused it, and obstinately stood in all his heresies and treasons before conspired. All gentle means that were possible to be sought for his reconciliation were had, but the more gentler that the Magistrates were to him, the more obstinat was the Friar, and would neither argue nor answer: wherfore justly was he condempned; and after for him was prepared, in Smithfelde in London, a gallows on the which he was hanged in chaines by the middle and armholes all quicke, and under the gallows was made a fire, and he so consumed and brent to death. At his coming to the place of execution, there was prepared a great scaffold, on which sat the nobles of the realme, and the Kings Majesty's most honorable Council, only to have granted pardon to that wretched creature if any spark of repentance would have happened in him. Ther was also prepared a pulpit where a right reverend father in God and a renoumed and famous clerk, the bishop of Worcester, called Hugh Latimer, declared to him his errors and openly and manifestly by the Scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortations moved him to repentance, but such was his frowardness that he neither would hear nor speak.

"And a little before the execution, a huge and great Image was brought to the gallows, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped. This Image was called Darvell Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophecy that this Image should set a whole Forest a fire, which prophecy now took effect, for he set this friar

Forest on fire and consumed him to nothing. This Friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so unpaciently took his death, that no man that ever put his trust in God never so unquietly nor so ungodly ended his life. If men might judge him by his outward man, he appeared to have little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and less trust in him at his ending.

"Upon the Gallows that he died on, was set up, in great letters these verses following:

David Darvell Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlawes out of Hell.
Now is he come with spere and shilde
In harnes to burn in Smithfelde,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

And Forest the Frier
That obstinate lyer
That wilfully shalbe dead;
In his contumacie
The Gospell doth deny
The Kyng to be supreme head."[a]

LETTER CXXXI.

Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Sir Roger Townshend, to Lord Cromwell, respecting the intended execution of a Friar at Norwich, for denying the King's Supremacy.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 102. *Orig.*]

*** The burning of Friar Forest, though attended with circumstances of such uncommon and refined cruelty, was still thought a master stroke of terror: and accordingly another Observant friar of the same Convent, who had taken upon him the state and condition of a hermit in Norfolk, was laid hold of for the same crime, condemned by the Justices of Assize to the same punishment, and the bishop of Norwich requested to preach a Sermon to him, while the fire was preparing. All this the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Roger Townshend, in their joint Letter which follows, trusted "should be to the King's Highness's contentation:" although, even upon their own showing, the friar was acknowledged to be half witted, and of small learning.

[a] Hall, Chron. edit. 1809. pp. 825, 826.

My verie good Lord, with harty recommendations, these shalbe to advertise you that upon Thursday laste paste the Justices of Assize came to me the Duke of Norffolk hither to dynner, in ther way rydyng to the Assises at Burye, wher they declared unto me that one called Anthony Browne, somtyme a fryer Observaunte of Grenewiche, and of late takyng upon hym as an hermyte, was accused of Treason, and so commytted to warde by me Sir Roger Townsend tofore the commynge of the said Justices to these parties; and so brought before them to Norwiche did write his own confession with his haunde, whiche ye shall receyve with this. Wherupon, for his traytors opinions, he was indited of Treason, and so caste and had his Judgemente accordynglye, yevyng respyte to the Shryfe for his execusyon x. dayes folowyng; whiche they shewed me the said Duke they ded for this consyderation, whiche was, they thought it convenient that a Sermon sholde be made by the bisshopp of Norwiche, as was by the bisshopp of Worcestre at th'execusyon of Forreste. And in communyng bothe with them and the Shryf I perceyved well they had herde that som in these partes doubted whether the bisshopp here ded thorowly meane well, consernyng the opinions of the said Brown or not. Wherupon I asked theropinions[a] whether they thought it beste that I shold send for the said bisshopp to fele his mynd

[a] their opinions.

afore I shold will hym to preache or not; and also that forasmoche as I ded perceyve the said fryer hàd not be thoroughlye examynd with whome he hathe had communication, ayde, or comforte in his opinions, and of other thyngs that I shold thynke conveniente to examyn hym of, whether I wer beste to send for hym hyther to me or not; and ther mynds was that I shold send bothe for the bisshopp and the fryer, and so I ded: and becawse that Mr Townsend is onely of the Kyngs Highnes counsell in these parties I sente in lykewise for hym to be presente at all the examynacions. And this forenowne we so handled the said Fryer that we brought hym to this poynte that he wold not stycke upon the auctoryte of the bisshopp of Rome tobe suppryme Hed of the Churche, but in no wyse we cold bryng hym from th'oppinion that the Kyng ought not tobe suppryme Hed of the Churche, sayng that no temperall Prynce was *capax* of that name and auctorite. I the said Duke had here with me Doctor Call, a gray frier, who handled hym right honestlye in defendyng the Kyngs Majesties parte aswell by reason as scripture: but all that wold not serve: and sythe dynner we have be efte sones in hand with hym. And in our communyng with hym came hither the Bisshopp of Norwiche, who undoubtedly by scripture handled the matter of sutche sorte that it was sufficient to have torned th'oppinion of any man that was not yevyn to wilfulnes as this fole is, who in our opinions is smally

lerned and as litle reasonable; and suerly, to say the trouthe, the bisshopp for his parte, and the said Call for his, hathe shewed themselffs bothe to be lerned men, and trewe subjects to our M^er^ Wherupon consyderyng that by no meanes we two can get owt of hym any detection of any person to be of counsell with him, or of like opinion as he is of, we have delyvered hym to the Shryf, to be caryed to the gayle, and ther to suffer accordyng to his folishe doyngs upon Fryday nexte, affore whose dethe the said bisshopp shall make sutche a Sermon as we truste shalbe to the Kyngs Highnes contentation, and apparaunte to the people (whiche we thynke wolbe ther in great nombre) that this unhappy folyshe fryer is well worthy to suffer, and that his opinions be falls and untrewe. My lorde the cause of the sendyng of this man in so great haste unto you, is, be cause that and the Kyngs majestie and you shall thynke it convenient to have hym to be brought to the Towre there to be more streyghtlye examyned and to be put to torture, Ye may dispeache this berer or som other with commaundemente to the Shryf accordyngly; so that the same may be with hym at Norwiche by Fryday x. a cloke; for yf ye shold send to me the said Duke, I know not yet wher I shold be fownd at that tyme. And thus our Lord have you in his tuicion. From Kennyngale this iiij. day of Auguste 1538 at xj. at nyght.

[a] Master.

After writyng of the premyssis, the Bisshopp was desyrous to speke eftsones with the fryer, to th'entente he myght have cawsed hym to have torned his opinions, not for savegarde or prolongyng of his lyf, but for the welthe of his Soule; and I sir Roger Townsend, beyng presente, sawe the bisshopp handle hymself very honestlye and clerkely, but notwithstondyng that dyvers tymes the said fryer was like to have altred his folishe opinions, yet fynallye he persisted in his errors. My Lord, we hartly requyre you that yf it shall not be thought to the Kyngs Majestie that any Sermon shuld be made before th'execution, to advertyse the Shryf therof afore the tyme before wryten

Yo^rs assewredly

T. NORFOLK

At your Lordshypps comande^t.

ROGER TOUNESHEND.

LETTER CXXXII.

The Inhabitants of the Lordship of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, to Lord Cromwell, entreating for the preservation of the Abbey Church there. A. D. 1538.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 243 b. *Orig.*]

*** The Cistercian Abbey of Holm Cultram was surrendered to the King March 5^th^. 1538. The Inhabitants of the lordship, it appears, were anxious for the preservation of the Abbey Church for a double reason: first that they might still have it for their parish church; and secondly

because it was the only building in their neighbourhood to which they could fly, or where they could defend themselves, in time of invasion from the Scots[a].

Too the right honorable, ande our singler good Lorde mye Lord Prevye Seale.

Mooste humbly besechith your honorable Lordship, your poore Orators ande Beedemen, beynge eightene hundred houselynge people[b] in the nombre, th'Inhabitants of Holme Coltrane within the west border of the North parties of this Realme of England, that it might please your Lordship to be a meane for us to our Soveraign Lorde the Kynge is Highenes for the preservacion and standynge of the Churche of Holme Coltrane before saide; whiche is not onelye unto us our parish Churche, and little ynoughe to receyve all us your poore Orators, but also a grete ayde, socor,

[a] The Mess^rs. Lysons, in their Magna Britannia, inform us that in the County of Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, are some remarkable ecclesiastical edifices.

The towers of two of these, Newton Arlosh church near the western coast, and Burgh on the Sands near the Solway Frith, appear to have been very strong, and capable of affording protection to the inhabitants of the villages for some time, upon any sudden invasion from the opposite coast across the Frith. The cattle were probably secured in the bodies of the churches.

The description of Newton Arlosh church, built soon after 1303, shews it to have been a place of considerable strength.

The tower of Burgh on the Sands is still more strongly fortified; the walls on three sides being from six to seven feet thick. It has a vaulted chamber on the ground floor, ten feet by eight; the entrance to which is secured by a ponderous iron door, six feet eight inches in height: a stone staircase leading to an upper chamber.

The tower of Great Salkeld church is also strongly fortified; and has likewise a vaulted chamber on the ground floor, at the entrance to which from the nave, is a massive grated iron door lined with oak.

The church of Annan in Scotland, on the opposite side of the Solway Frith appears to have been as strongly fortified.

[b] persons of age to communicate at the altar.

and defence for us ayenst our neighbors the Scotts, withe out the whiche few or none of your Lordshipps supplyants are able to do the King is saide Hieghnes our bounden duetye ande service. Ande wee shall not onelye praye for his graciouse noble estate, but also for your Lordshipps prosperite with increase of honor longe to endure.

Your humble and poore beedemen
TH'INHABITANTS *of the Lordship*
of HOLME COLTRAM.

LETTER CXXXIII.

John Clusey to Lord Cromwell, in favor of a Nun of Shaftesbury, the natural daughter of Cardinal Wolsey.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4160. p. 11.]

*** The name of this daughter of Cardinal Wolsey has not been handed down to us. Roy, in his "Rede me and be not Wrothe" ascribes more natural children to him; and expressly names one Winter.

"Hath he children by his whoares also?
Ye, and that full prowdly they go,
Namly one whom I do knowe:
Which hath of the Churches goodes clerly
More than two thousand pownde yerly,
And yett is not content I trowe.
His name is Master Winter,
To whom my lorde his father
Hathe gotten of the Frenche Kynges Grace,
That when the bishop of Rone
Out of this lyfe is dedde and gone,
He shall succede hym in his place".[a]

Of THOMAS WYNTER, the person here alluded to, who was Dean of Wells, archdeacon of York, and provost of Beverley, a particular account will be found in Wood's Fasti Oxonienses[b]. He had various other preferments, but appears to have resigned the greater part upon the Cardinal's fall, in 1529. He kept the archdeaconry of York till 1540. Fiddes has

[a] Sign. d. ij.

[b] Wood, Ath. Ox. 1st edit. vol. i. p. 63.

printed the Grant of a Coat of Arms to him by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, in 1526, the component parts of which are evidently taken from Wolsey's[a].

Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, was sent at King Henry the Eighth's expence, to complete his studies at Padua, whither Wynter accompanied him as a fellow student and companion. Pole wrote to the King, and Wynter to Cromwell, to give an account of their arrival and first settlement there. The Letters, both in Latin, are preserved in the Cottonian Collection[b].

The thirty-eighth of the Articles exhibited in Parliament against Wolsey, speaks of two natural children which the Cardinal had had by the daughter of one Lark:

"XXXVIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanley Knight, which had taken a farm by Convent-Seal of the abbat and Convent of Chester; and afterwards, by his power and might, contrary to right, committed the said Sir John Stanley to the prison of Fleet by the space of one year, unto such time as he compelled the said Sir John to release his Convent-Seal to one Leghe of Adlington, which married one Lark's daughter, which woman the said Lord Cardinal kept, *and had with her* TWO CHILDREN: whereupon the said Sir John Stanley, upon displeasure taken in his heart, made himself monk in Westminster and there died."

RYGTHE honorable, after most humyll comendacyons, I lykewyce besuche you that the Contents of this my symple Letter may be secret; and that for asmyche as I have grete cause to goo home, I besuche your good Mastershipe to comand M^r^ Herytag to give attendans opon your Mastershipe for the knowlege off youre plesure in the seyd secrete mater, whiche ys this, My Lord Cardinall causyd me to put a yong gentyll homan to the Monystery and Nunry off Shaffftysbyry, and there to be provessyd, and wold hur to be namyd my doythter; and the troythe ys shew[c]

[a] Fiddes, Life of Wolsey, Collect. p. 182.

[b] MS. Cotton. Nero b. vi. foll. 118, 122. Other Letters of Wynter occur, Ibid. fol. 163. Nero b. viii. fol. 182. and Titus b. i. fol. 390.

[c] she.

was his dowythter; and now by your Visitacyon she haythe commawynment to departe, and knowythe not whether[a]. Wherefore I humely besuche youre Mastershipe to dyrect your Letter to the Abbas there, that she may there contynu at hur full age to be professed.

Withoute dowyte she ys other xxiiij. yere full, or shalbe at shuche tymé of the here[b] as she was boren, which was a bowyte Myclelmas. In this your doyng your Mastershipe shall do a very charitable ded, and also bynd hur and me to do you such servyce as lyzthe in owre lytell powers; as knowythe owre Lord God whome I humely besuche prosperyusly and longe to preserve you.

Your orator

JOHN CLUSEY.

To the right honorabull
and his most especiall
good Master, Master Cromwell
Secretary to our good Lord the Kyng.

LETTER CXXXIV.

John Freeman to Lord Cromwell, upon the unnecessary and unlawful fees granted to various persons upon the Surrender of the Monasteries.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 394. *Orig.*]

YT may ples your good lordshipe to understond, that in the makynge of this half yeres resaite in Lincoln-

[a] whither. [b] year.

shier, I well parsayve of the gyvyn owte of late, not only there, but also throwgh owte the realme, thies superfluus fees gyven by the late surrenderd Howses; whiche fees be gyven in three sortes. The furst to Bailles, ho[a] hath for smale somes resayving large fees; and where they have made a dosen, one war sufficient. Secondlye, they have gyven to generall Resayvors greater fees, whiche sorte shall never resayve no money; for the particuler bailles doth gather the rentes and so brynges it to the Kynges Resayvor, who stondes charged with the same. And the thirde sorte haith their fees to be accounseill[b] with the Howse, and yet the greatest nomber of theym hath no lernynge. Inded they gave counsell to th'abbot to gyve theym a Covent seale to robe[c] the Kinge of part of his Revenues; wherfore me thinke they might lawfully at this Parliament be called in agane, and the Kings Highnes shuld resave therbye within his realme iij. or foure thowsand markes by the least yerly. And further as consarnynge the Kings leade within his realme, yf it wold ples his Grace to make sales therof it shuld turne hym to a great proffite. Their be merchantes within his realme, I thinke a great sorte, wold gyve hym iiij[li]. for a foder, and fynd his Grace suerties sufficient to be pad yerly one porcion therof, whiche I thinke wold be no lees than xx M[li]. a yere for the space of foure yeres, whiche ward a goodlye payment; and yet or the foure yeres ward expired their wold every foder be worthe to the Kinge

[a] who. [b] of counsell. [c] rob. [β] were.

xx. nobles, considering the costome in and owte. And further I thinke that c.M[1] of his pore Sugetes shuld be benefite takers of their retorns whither it war[a] in money or in ware. And also the yeres beynge expired, it wold qwyken well agane one of the commodities of his realme that nowe is ded, whiche is the Myndes[b] of his leade. Yt may ples you to consider that and yf other owtward prynces wold take apon theym to redres their idell, fayned religiouse Howses, as the Kinges Highnes hath done, as I mystrust not but and their powers war accordinge as the Kings was and is they wolde so do, and than shall they have suche abundance of lead of suche like howses that they woll than sett litell by ours. Besechinge your lordship for my follyshe oppynyon, so boldlye to you to write of, that ye wold take with me no displeasure. And thus I remayn your pore man. From Lowthe the x[th] day of May.

Yours

JOHN FREMAN.

To the right honorable and his singuler good Lord my Lord Prevy Seale, be this yeven.

[a] were. [b] mines.

LETTER CXXXV.

Robert Warner to Robert Ratcliff Lord Fitzwalter: a Letter of Intelligence from Court.

[MS. COTTON. TIB. B. I. fol. 140. *Orig.*]

*** Henry Courtney marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil brother to the lord Abergavenny, mentioned in the first part of the following Letter, were arrested on November the 3d. 1538; and are stated to have been accused of treason by Sir Geoffrey Pole the brother of the lord Montacute, who had confederated with them. They were indicted for devising to maintain, promote, and advance Reginald Pole the younger brother of Sir Geoffrey, afterwards known as Cardinal Pole, and to deprive the King. The continuator of Dr. Henry's History conjectures that they were suspected of a design to raise Reginald Pole to the throne by a marriage with the Princess Mary, for which, he says, they would have easily obtained a dispensation from the Pope.

On the last of December 1538, the marquis of Exeter and the Lord Montacute were arraigned at Westminster; three days after which Sir Edward Nevil and Sir Geoffrey Pole were arraigned, with some inferior persons. All were condemned. The Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil were beheaded on Tower hill January 9th. 1539. Sir Geoffrey Pole was pardoned.

Margaret Countess of Salisbury, and Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, stated to be already in prison in the Letter, were attainted by Parliament April 28th. 1539. Upon this condemnation only, the Countess of Salisbury was beheaded in the Tower, with circumstances of peculiar cruelty, May 27th. 1541. The marchioness of Exeter was not executed. Her attainder was reversed in the 1st of Queen Mary, as was Reginald Pole's in the 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary.

AFTER my duty remembred to your good lordshipe, this shalbe to advertyse yow of suche newes as be now at London. Whiche ys that upon Monday was fornyght ther was hade, to the Tower of London, the lorde Marques of Exceter, the lorde Montagwe, and the next day after whas hade thether Sir Edwarde

Newell[a]; and as the voyse goythe they are all lyke to suffer deth; and also Sir Geffery Polle who was in the Tower beffore, as I do perceve yt shuldbe for my lorde Montagwes brother, whiche yş beyonde the see with the bysshoppe of Rome, and ys a harrant traytor to the Kyngs heynes: and be some words that I here spokyn they wolde a made[b] a fowle worke in Inglonde as ever whas herd of. My lady Marques ys in the tower, and my lady of Salysbery ys in holde, as I herde my lorde say, but where I cann not tell: but ther ys lyke to be a fowle worke among them.

Leve we of that matter, and to shew yow of the Kyngs Grace, who remowyde from Westminster the Twysday the xix[th] day of November, and, thankyd to be God, was never meryer. And the Wedynsday beffore, he made a bankett to certayn Lordes and Ladyes, whiche was fyrst the Ducke of Suffolke and my lady hys wyff, my lorde my maister and my lady, the Erle of Herthfforde and hys wyff, and my lady Lylle[c], wyth other, mayds, whiche were the Quenes women; and ther they leye all nyght in the cort, and ther chambers gorgeously drest, and every one hade banketts in there chambers, and the Kyng's servants to wayte upon them: and the next day they taryed ther dyner, and after the Kyng shewyd them all the pleasurs of hys howse whiche duryd tyll yt was fower of the cloke; and then they departyde and whent ther

[a] Nevil. [b] have made. [c] Lisle.

waye. Thus they left the King for that tyme; and the Monday next after, the Kyng's Grace made all the Lords of hys Prevy Councell to dyne with hym in hys bankatyng-chamber, and was very mery amonge them; and, as I sayde, the next day after he went to Hampton Court, and ther wyll remayne tyll within a lettel of Crystmas, and so come to Grenwyche and kepe his Crystmas ther. And, my Lorde, to wryt of any Quene, ther ys smale spekyng of any; but that ther ys a voyce that yt shulde be the Duchys of Myllayn. But ye shall take yt as a wynde. But yett I thynke yt shalbe an outlandyshe woman, whom so ever yt shall happyn, whiche I thynke shalbe about the spryng of the lefe.

* * * * * *

Yor pore bedman

ROBERT WARNER.

Att London the
xxj. day of November.

To the Ryght honorable lorde
the Lorde Fitzwater
this be delyvorde.

LETTER CXXXVI.

John Lord Russell, to Lord Cromwell, respecting the trial and execution of the Abbat and two Monks of Glastonbury.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 99 b. *Orig.*]

RIGHT honourable and my verry good Lorde, pleasyth youre lordeshipp to be advertised, that I have re-

ceyved youre Lettres dated the xijth daye of this present; and understond by the same youre lordeshipps greate goodnes towardes my friende the Abbott off Peterborough, for whome I have ben ofte bold to wryte unto youre good lordeshipp[a]; moste hartely thankynge yo^{r} lordeshipp for that and all other youre goodnes that I have founde at youre good lordeshipps handes: even so, desiering you my lorde longe to contynew in the same. My lorde thies shalbe to asserteyne, that on Thursdaye the xiiijth daye of this present moneth the Abbott of Glastonburye was arrayned, and the next daye putt to execucyon with ij. other of his monkes, for the robbyng of Glastonburye Churche, on the torre hyll next unto the towne of Glaston; the seyde Abbotts body beyng devyded in fower parts, and heed stryken off, whereof oone quarter stondythe at Welles, a nother at bathe, and at Ylchester and Brigewater the rest. And his hedd uppon the Abbey gate at Glaston. And as concernyng the rape and burglary commytted, those parties are all condempned, and fower of theym putt to execucyon at the place of the act don, whiche is called the were; and there adjudged to hange styll in chaynes to th'ensample of others. As for Capon, oone of the seyde offenders condempned, I have repried according to yo^{r} Lordeshipp's letters; of whome I shall further show unto you at my next repayre unto the Courte. And

[a] John Borowe, or Burgh, alias Chambers, was the last Abbat and first Bishop of Peterborough.

here I do sende yo^{r} lordeshipp, enclosed, the names of th'enquest that passed on Whytyng the seid abbott: whiche I ensure you my lorde is as worsshipfull a jurye as was charged here thies many yeres. And there was never seene in thies parts so greate apparaunce as were here at this present tyme, and never better wyllyng to serve the Kyng. My Lorde I ensure you there were many bylles putt upp ageynst the abbott by his tenaunts and others, for wronges and injuryes that he hadd donne theym. And I commytt yo^{r} good lordeshipp to the keapyng of the blessed Trynyte. From Welles the xvjth daye of Novembre.

Your owen to commande

J. RUSSELL.

LETTER CXXXVII.

Thomas Lord Cromwell to the Earl of Chester, for the extirpation of Gipsies.

[MS. COTTON. TIB. B. I. fol. 407. *Orig.*]

*** The first appearance of the Gipsies in Europe seems to have been in Germany, about the beginning of the sixteenth Century; whence they migrated to the different surrounding States, and gaining proselytes in prodigious numbers, betook themselves to the arts of chiromancy, begging, and pilfering, by which they seem to have been distinguished every where; retaining for themselves also a peculiar language. They were scarcely known, before they became troublesome to every country in which they sojourned.

In England, by Stat. 22. Hen. VIII. chap. x. they are described as "an "outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians, using no crafte nor feate "of merchandize, who have come into this realm and gone from shire to "shire, and place to place, in great company, and used great, subtle, and "crafty means to deceive people, bearing them in hand that they by palm-

" estry could tell men and women's fortunes:" wherefore they are directed to avoid the realm, under pain " of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods," sixteen days being allowed for their avoidance after the proclamation of the Statute.

The inefficiency of this Act in operation, gave rise to severer measures, as will be seen in the following Letter.

It was afterwards enacted by Stat. 1 and 2 Ph. & Mary, chap. ivth. and again, Stat. 5 Eliz. chap. xx. that if any such persons should be imported into the Kingdom, the importers should forfeit forty pounds. And if the Egyptians themselves remained one month in the kingdom, or if any person being fourteen years old, whether natural-born subject or stranger, who had been seen or found in the fellowship of such Egyptians, or who had disguised him or herself like them, should remain in the same one month at one or several times, it should be felony without benefit of clergy.

Sir Matthew Hale informs us that at one of the Suffolk assizes, no less than thirteen persons were executed upon these latter statutes a few years before the restoration. Some others were executed at Stafford a short time after the restoration.

The Gypsies were expelled from France in 1560; and from Spain in 1591.

In Scotland these people seem to have enjoyed some share of indulgence. Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, quotes Writs of Privy Seal of the years 1553, 1554, and 1594, respecting privileges in that country granted to JOHN FAW, or FALL who is called *Lord and Earl of Little Egypt.* But there is an earlier entry relating to them in the Privy Seal Book, N° xiv. fol. 59. " Letters of Defence and Concurrence to John Fall Lord and Earl of Little Egypt, for assisting him in the execution of Justice upon his Company, conform to the Laws of Egypt. 15th. Feb. 1540."

AFTER my right hartie commendations. Whereas the Kings Maiestie, about a twelfmoneth past, gave a pardonne to a company of lewde[a] personnes within this realme calling themselves Gipcyans, for a most shamfull and detestable murder commytted amongs them, with a speceall proviso inserted by their owne consents, that onles they shuld all avoyde this his Graces realme by a certeyn daye long sythens expired, yt

[a] ignorant, unlearned.

14.717

shuld be lawfull to all his Graces offycers to hang them in all places of his realme, where they myght be apprehended, without any further examynacion or tryal after forme of the lawe, as in their letter patents of the said pardon is expressed. His Grace, hering tell that they doo yet lynger here within his realme, not avoyding the same according to his commaundement and their owne promes, and that albeit his poore subjectes be dayly spoyled, robbed, and deceyved by them, yet his Highnes officers and Ministres lytle regarding their dieuties towards his Majestye, do permyt them to lynger and loyter in all partys, and to exercise all their falshods, felonyes, and treasons unpunished, hathe commaunded me to sygnifye unto youe, and the Shires next adjoynyng, whether any of the sayd personnes calling themselfes Egipcyans, or that hathe heretofore called themselfes Egipcyans, shall fortune to enter or travayle in the same. And in cace youe shall here or knowe of any suche, be they men or women, that ye shall compell them to depart to the next porte of the See to the place where they shalbe taken, and eyther wythout delaye uppon the first wynde that may conveye them into any parte of beyond the Sees, to take shipping and to passe in to owtward partyes, or if they shall in any wise breke that commaundement, without any tract[a] to see them executed accoŕding to the Kings Hieghnes sayd Lettres patents remaynyng of Recorde in his Chauncery which, with these, shalbe

[a] stay, hesitation.

your discharge in that behaulf: not fayling t'accomplishe the tenor hereof with all effect and diligence, without sparing uppon any Commyssion, Licence, or Placarde that they may shewe or aledge for themselfes to the contrary, as ye tender his Graces pleasor which also ys that youe shall gyve notyce to all the Justices of Peax in that Countye where youe resyde, and the Shires adjoynant, that they may accomplishe the tenor hereof accordingly. Thus fare ye hertely wel; From the Neate the v^th^ day of December the xxix^th^ yer of his Ma^tie^s most noble Regne

Yo^r^ louyng ffreend

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

To my verye good Lorde my Lorde of Chestre President of the Marches of Wales.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

King James V^th^ of Scotland to Sir Thomas Wharton, in answer to his Complaints against certain scurrilous Ballads. A. D. 1538.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. III. fol. 191. *Orig.*]

WEILBELOVID frende we gret zou weil. And forsamekle as we haven considerate be zour Vrytinges, sic Ballats and buks of Diffamatioun as ze allege ar maid be our legis to the displesoure of our derrest un-

cle, quhairof we ar ry^{t} miscontentit gif sua beis; and has presentlie directit scharpe charges to all partis of our bordours to defend sic thingis to be usit be ony oure liegis, and to get knawlege of the auctors of it ze wryt is done to the intent that thai may be punyschit for their demerits as accords. Bot because we never hard of sic thingis of befoir, we suspect rather the samyn to be imaginate and devisit be sum of zour awin natioun, and liegis of our derrest unclis. Forther in this behalfe we have gevin charge to the Lord Maxwell Warden of our West Merches, as he will schaw zou, quhame God conserve. At our Palace of Linly^{t}g^{w} the last Day of Januar.,

JAMES R.

To our weilbilovit Schir
Thomas Warthoun Wardane of the West
Marchis of Ingland foranent Scotland.

LETTER CXXXIX.

Thomas Wyllughby to Lord Cromwell, concerning his proceedings against the Rebels in the West. A. D. 1539.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 381. *Orig.*]

YT maie like yo^{r} honorable and good Lordshipe to be advertysyd, I have according to the Kyng's highe and severall Commyssyons ben in Hampshire, Wylschirê, Dorsett, Somerset, Devonshire, and Corne-

wall; and those that hath ben Offendours of high treason and indytyd befor me and other of the Kings Commyssioners wer fownde gyltie upon good and substaunciall evidence: and hathe hade their Judgments, and sufferyd according to their demeretts and offencys. The gret and highe Offendours to the Kings good grace were in Cornewall, whose names were William Kendall and one Quyntrell, as errant traytours as anie were within the Realme of Inglonde, who lenyd and favouryd asmuche to the avaunc̄ement and setting forthe of that traytour Henrie late Marques of Exceter, that hys ungracius and traitorus purpose myghte take effecte, not lesing ne sparing to speke to a gret nombre of the Kings subjects in these parties that the said Henrie was heire apparaunte and shuld be Kyng, and wolde be King, yf the Kyngs Highnes procedyd to marrie the Ladie Anne Bollen: or ells it shuld cost a thowsand mennys lives. And for their myschevus entent to take effecte, the same Kendall and Quyntrell unlawfullie retaynyd dyverse and a gret nombre of the Kings subjects in those parties to be towards the lorde Marques, to be in a redynes within an howers warnyng, puttyng in their hedds and harts that the said Marques shuld be the man that shuld helpe them and do them good, saying also to them see the experyence how all thei do prevayle that were towards the said Marques: for nother Assyses, Nisi prius, nother Bill of Indytment put up agenst them colde take effecte: and, of the contrary parte how it pre-

vailyd for them. Morover my good Lorde it apperyd by evydence given agenst them that certayne other persones, whose names thys berer shall enforme yo^{r} lordschipe, wer confederate, and in effecte of like opinyon with them. And those that were present in the Court I dyd comyt them to warde, and have bownd them by good substancial suertes, by recognysaunce, to apper at y^{e} next Assise to be holden in the Countie of Cornewall. And as for willfull murders, heynous robberies, and other offencys of felonies, dyverse and manie have sufferyd: besydes suche as hathe sufferyd punnyshment of the pillorie for their sedycyus, obprobrius, and slaunderus wordes agenst the Kings Grace and hys honorable Cownsell. And I assure yow my Lorde in every of those same Shires ther hath ben a gret apparance of gentillmen and men of woorschipe, who hath endevoryd themselffs with muche dylygence in executing the Kings precepts and commawndments. And thus am I bold to asserten yo^{r} good Lordshipe of the state of those Shires. And thus our Lorde have your good Lordshipe in his tuycyon and governaunce. Written thys xvj. daie of Marche.

At yo^{r} commandement

THOMAS WYLLUGHBY.

To the righte honorable
and my singuler good
Lord my Lorde Privie
Seall be thys
dd.

LETTER CXL.

William Pennison to . . . . . .

[MS. COTTON. VESP. C. XIV. fol. 79. *Orig.*]

*** The date of the following Letter is fixed by the mention of the two marriages of James the Fifth of Scotland.

James was married to Madeleine, the daughter of Francis the First of France, January the 1st. 1537, in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris. They did not, however, arrive at Leith till the 5th. of May: forty days after which, on July 5th. Madeleine died in a decline.

Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of that name, and widow of the Duke de Longueville, the second wife of James the Fifth, arrived at Balcomie in Fife June 10th 1538. She was the mother of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Lady Motrell, it will be seen, to whose reception in London, when upon her return to France, this Letter chiefly relates, was in the suite of Queen Madeleine.

RIGHT honorable and my singulier good Lord, as louly as I can I commend me unto your Lordeship; yesternyght, sowne after vj. of the clocke I delyvered your Lettre to my Lorde Mayre, after the sight whereof he hath determyned this mornyng at ix. of the clock to present to my Lady of Motrell thise parcells; furst, of greate piks, x; carpes, x; greate eles fresh, x; a porcion of fresh saulmon and sturgion, and a certeyne quantitie of tenches and breames, and of all such other good fyshes as can be gotton; of sugar loves x; of torches x; of white wyne and claret, during of the tyme of her abyding, plentye, to be sent at dyners and souppers in flagons, in consideration that and yf it should be sent in hogesheds it would be unfyned and

not mete to be dronke so sowne. As touching theyre lodging at my lorde Mayres, he is right sory that he cannott provyde theym, by reason Sainct Barthilmewe day is so nygh at hand, where as then he shall not only have resorte of sueters of the Citie, but in likewise of straungers; notwithstanding in case they shall have nede of lodging, we shall provyde this day one myte [a] and convenient for her on Sonday next comyng. My lorde Mayre intendeth to make a dynner for her, her ladyes, and trayne; where also shalbe th'Ambassador of Fraunce; where there shalbe plentye of all meats and dryñks, with like interteanyng. These things thus establysshed, I thought to delay no tyme; wherfore I went to visite the said Lady, whom I tooke up rysing sowne after her soupper; then accordingly unto your Lordeshipps commandement with such wont and accoustumed salutacions behoving unto such personaiges, I saluted her, of the which she was right joyous, gyving infinite thanks unto the Kyngs Majeste, that he being so noble and myghtie Prynce wouldeof his goodnesse w^c^save [b] to send to visite her, so infime and lowe a personaige; neverthelesse she said his Grace hath sent unto her, which hath evermore borne hym faithfull obeisance and servitude. After this communyon famyliarly, she brought me unto her chamber with all her Ladyes and gentilwomen, to the nombre of viij. or ix. amongst the which was my Lady Browne and

[a] meet. [b] vouchsafe.

another lady which sometyme was wyff to one of the French Kyngs carvers, and amongst the said gentilwomen there was one or two indiferent faire. And thus still being in communication, amongst other things, she dyd show me of her contynuance in Scotland, and howe that she hath remayned there by the French Kyngs appoinctement sence she brought thether the Quene that last dyed; after whose death she informed me of her good chere there in meate and drynke, which was not exeding. And that she had not the sight of the Kyng untill the tyme of the commyng of the last Quene, nor no greate resorte of gentilmen, nor none other passetyme worthy of rehersaile. The old Quene had no good dayes after her arryval ther, but alwayes sikely with a catarr which descended into her stomac, which was the cause of her deth. So fourth passing, in taulking, I demaunded howe this Quene liked Scotland, and she aunswered that she looved Fraunce better; uppon the which pourposse she somewhat smyled. So from that thing taking the recourse to other, she of herselve began greately to prayse the fruytfulnesse, fayrenesse, and playsauntnesse of Inglond, with the civilitie of the men; wher uppon she began furst to showe howe as yesterday she went to sport her to Chelsey with th'Ambassador of Fraunce; and how at her return she came to Brydewell, where likewise she showed me how the said ambassador had

showed her the whole House which she commends above all other that ever she sawe. Moreover she said that the said ambassador had promest her that she should see York Place, far fairer; and for that intent he would send to the keeper of the same: showing herself greatly desirous to see it. And so in the ende of our communication she showed me that upon Monday next she entends to take her journey toward France. Howbeit she sayd that she had Recommendations from the Quene of Scotts to the Kyng's Highnesse, if she might arryve nigh where his Grace were. And at my taking of my leve I found faulte of her lodging, saing it to be very little for her and her trayne: wherfore if she pleased she should be provyded of another howsse more easear, for the King's pleasor was that she should have as gret commoditie here, within this his Realme, as she were in her owne natyf contrye. Then with great thanks she made me this aunswar, saing that all her gentilwomen were lodged within, her and her trayne abowte her, circomvicin ynough; and that for so litle a space she intended not to remeve. And thus I tooke my leve, presuposing to be this mornyng with my Lord Mayre, and to determyn a lodging for her, and at after dynner to resorte unto her agayne and see if she be otherwyse mynded. And thus in the meane tyme it may please your Lordeship to send by this berer your fourther

pleasour. With thys, Jesu preserve your Lordeship with long lyff and increase of honor. From London the xxiiijth day of August.

Alwayes redy at your Lordeshipps
comaundemente
WILLIAM PENNISON.

LETTER CXLI.

John Foster a priest, to Lord Cromwell, upon his obedience to the King, in putting away a wife whom he had married.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. E. IV. fol. 116 b. *Orig.*]

*** The Letter here presented, was evidently written immediately after the Parliament of 1539 had passed the Act of "The Six Articles;" more usually called "The Bloody Act."

A notion had gone forth that Priests might marry, and numbers of the clergy had seized the opportunity of choosing for themselves a helpmate, without dreaming that they should subsequently incur a penalty of the severest kind. Even Cranmer had taken to wife the niece of Osiander, an eminent divine of Nuremberg.

Cranmer, with all quietness, sent his wife back at once to Germany. But JOHN FOSTER, who moved in a lower rank of the priesthood, the writer of the present Letter, not only dismissed his wife to her friends at the distance of three score miles, but hastened to the Vicar-general, confessed how ill he had understood the word of God, complimented his Majesty's more erudite judgement, and sued for the royal pardon.

IN my most humblyst wyse, I beyng not so bold as to appere before youre Lordshyp untyll your plesure

ys knowyn, feere sett appartt, nede compellythe me to wrytt. Thys last Lentt I dyd no lesse then wrytt, and also to your presence I dyd approche, suyng for your lordschyppys gracious servyce; but now my sute ys muche other, for my dysfortune hathe byn to have conceyvyd untruly Goddys worde, and not only with yntellectyon to have thought yt, but exteryally and really I have fulfyllyd the same; for I, as then beyng a preste, have accompleschyd maryage; nothyng pretendyng but as an obedyentt subyect. For yf the Kyngys Grace could have founde yt lawfull that prestys mught have byn maryd, they wold have byn to the Crowne dubbyll and dubbyll faythefull, furst in love, secondly for fere that the Bysshope of Rome schuld sette yn hys powre unto ther desolacyon. But now by the noyse of the peopull I perseyve I have dunne amysce, which shythe that the Kyngy serudyte yugementt with all hys cowncell temperall and spyrytuall hathe stableschyd a contrary order, that all prestys schalbe separat by a day; with which order I have contentyd my selfe: and as sone as I herd it to be tru, I sentt the woman to her frendys iij. score mylys from me, and spedely and with all celeryte I have resorted hether to desyre the Kyngs Hyghtnes of hys favor and absolucyon for my amysce doyng; prayng and besechyng your Lordschypps gracyous cumfortt for the optaynyng of hys gracyous pardon: and I schalbe your bounden servauntt yn hartt and also yn

contynnuall servyse yf yt schall please your gracyous lordschypp to accept yt duryng my lyfe: wrythyn the xviij. day of June.

Your bounden for ever,

JOHN FOSTER.

LETTER CXLII.

Sir Thomas Elyot to Secretary Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. TIT. B. I. fol. 371. *Orig.*]

*** The following Letter furnishes a valuable Supplement to the Memoirs of Sir Thomas Elyot, supplied by our biographers. It explains, moreover, that the Life of a Courtier in the time of Henry the Eighth was not always one of unalloyed success. During Wolsey's administration, indeed, few but churchmen were amply rewarded. Even Sir Thomas More, we have seen, when Speaker of the House of Commons, was more than ordinarily grateful for a hundred pounds.

None of the Writers who mention Sir Thomas Elyot's promotions, notice his having held the clerkship of the Council.

He appears to have been courted and celebrated by the most learned men of his time. His chief works were his "Governor" and his "Dictionary." A copy of the latter, fol. Berthelet, 1538, is extant in the library of the British Museum. It was originally Lord Cromwell's copy, to whom a Latin letter is addressed upon a blank leaf at the beginning, in Sir Thomas Elyot's hand. It afterwards passed into the Library of King Henry the Eighth.

Sir Thomas Elyot died in 1546, and was buried at Carleton in Cambridgeshire.

RIGHT worshipfull I recommend me unto you; and hartily thanke you for your gentill and wyse advertisements and counsayles gyven unto me in your Let-

tres which I receyvyd of my lovyng frende Mr. Raynsford. Albeit, Sir, whan ye shall knowe all the occasyons of my discomforte, ye will not so moche blame me as pitie me, if your olde gentill nature be not chaunged. Mr. Cromwell I knowe well howe moche my dutie is to serve my soveraign lorde truely and diligently, which, God is my judge, I have doone to my powar with as good a wille, and as gladly, as any man could ymagine to doo: neither for myne obedience only, nor for hope of promocion, but for very harty love that I bare, and doo bere to the King's Highnesse besydes myn aleageance, therto moved by the incomparable goode qualities bothe of his persone and witte, which I have longe wondred at and lovid; as is my nature to doo in private persones, moche more in Princes, moste of all in the chief Governor of this Roialm and my soveraigne Lorde and Master. But whan I consyder myn infelicitie and losse of tyme in unprofitable study, will I or no, I am inforced to be cruciate in my poure mynde, which I confesse to be for lak of wisedom, but I have ben to little a tyme studious in philosophy. I suppose ye being wery of my longe bablyng, tary to here the infelicitie that I complayne me of. I pray you than take some pacience to here some part of my grief.

Sone after the decese of my poure father, the lande that I now have in Cambrigeshyr fell unto me not moche loked for: but to temper that sodayne Joye I

was furthwith assaultid with trouble by them which made title withoute ryght or goode consyderation: and allthowgh my lorde Cardinall, whome God pardone, knowing my title to be perfect and suer, as having it enrollid bifore him, and at the first beginning hiering him self the mutuall covenaunts bytwene my fader and my cosen Sir William Fynderne, whoes fader was my mothers unkle, by his goode justice gave me good comfort, yet then having agayn me many grete personages, by the meanes of Mr. Porte the justice, whoes daughter myn adversaries sone hadd maried, I was constrayned to retayne so many lernyd men, and so to applie my busyness, that the saide Sute contynuyng one yere and an half, stoode me above one hundred pounds. Afterward my saide lorde Cardinall, for some goode oppynion that he conceyvyd of me withoute my merites, advauncid me (as he supposid) to be Clerk of the Counsayle, withoute my sute or desyre. All be it afterward I was not ingrate as I will tell you hereafterward. Than was there newly delegate from the Sterre Chamber all maters of the North partes and Wales as ye know: those few that remayned were for the more parte the complaynts of beggars, which, shortly perceyving, I, my clerks repugning, did sett such a rate in fees ordinary as neither any man shold be excessifly grievyd, nor that I shold be seene to pike[a] oute substance oute of other

[a] pick.

mennys povertie: but that mought I the better sustayne by raison that I was than allso Clerk of the Assises Westward which was to me worth yerly one hundred marcs. But by the solicitation of some men which yet doo lyve, my sayde lorde bearing me on hand that I was and sholde be so necessary to be continually attendant on the Counsayle that it shold be expedient for me to leve the office of the Assises, (promysing moreover that by his meanes the King shold otherwise shortly promote me bothe to more worship and proffite,) finally willed me to resigne my said Office, takyng onely for it CC^{li} which after longe resistence finally I meist folow his pleasure to keepe him my goode Lorde. That doone whan the yere was finisshid I suyd to him to optayne a patent for the office in the Counsayle, which his Grace didd as I herd say, but I could never com by it: Doctor Cleyburgh and other keping it from me. After I suyd for the fee, which as I herd saye was fourti marcs by the yere, wherof I hadd promyse, but I never receyvid it. So by the space of six yeres and an half I servyd the King not in the Sterre Chamber onely, but in some things pertayning to the Clerk of the Crouné, some to the Secretaries, and other travailes which I will not now reherce leste ye sholde deeme me longe in praising my self, and all this time without fee, withoute reward more than the ordinare: and that which more grevith me, withoute thank of the King which

I deservyd as it wold appier if his Grace hadd ben truely infourmed of me, and my drawghtes seene which I devisid and made to my sayde Lorde. In this unthankfull travayle I no thing gate but the Colike and the Stone, debilitating of Nature, and allmoste contynuell destillations or rewmes, ministres to abbreviate my lif; which though it be of no grete importance, yet some wayes it mought be necessary. Finally, after the deth of my sayde Lorde, there was a former patente founde of the sayde Office, and myn was callid in and cancelled, and I discharged without any recompence, rewarded only with the order of Knighthode, honorable and onerouse, having moche lasse[a] to lyve on than bifore. And to minish my poure astate, I hadd a litle before payid to doctor Naturess, executor to Syr William Fynderne, to redeeme certayne yeres duryng the which he claymed to take the profits of my land for the execution of a wille, thre hundred and xlviij. pounds. So withoute office or any fee in the world (I refusing fees, to th'intent in servyng the Kyng I wold lyve out of all suspicion) withoute any ferme, withoute any stokke of Catell except foure hundred shepe to compasse the lands of my tenaunts, I have hitherto kept a pour house equall with any knight in the contrayes wher I dwell; and not withoute indignation of them which have moche more to lyve on. Nowe althowgh very unmeete and unhabile, I have servyd the King in his Grace's mes-

[a] lesse.

sage, how our Lord knowith, suer I am truely and faithfully. Therein employed I fyve hundred and fourty marks above all the Kings alowance, which I nothing repent me of, trusting that his Grace is pleased with my service: but now that I trusted to lyve quietely, and by little and little to repay my creditors, and to reconsile myself to myn olde studies, and pray for the King, (for other promotion I lokid not for) I wote not by what malice of fortune I am constrayned to be in that office wherunto is as it were appendant losse of money and good name: of the one I am certayne; the other is hard to eskape, all sharpnesse and diligence in Justice now a dayes being every where odiouse. As Godd helpe me, sens my commyng over I have dischargid oute of my service fyve honest and tall personage, constraynid of necessitie, untill I mowght recover myself oute of dett: and now am I compelled to augment my household eftsones, or ells shold I serve the Kinge sklenderly. Ye here myn occasions, I pray you than blame me not thowgh I have my mynde somewhat inquieted; not that I imbrayde the King with my service, but that I sorow that his Grace hath not ben so informed of me as my service requyred: and moreover that I am not of powar to serve his Grace according to his expectation, and as my pour hart desyreth. And goode Mr. Cromwell I thank you that ye will lese so moche tyme to reade this longe Letter, praying You to bear part of it in your remembrance that as oportunitie servith ye

may truely aunswer for your frend, who hartily desyreth the increase of your worship. And I pray you continue your favor towards Mr. Raynsford whom ye shall fynde as honest and faithfull as any that ever ye were acquaynted with. And I beseche Godd send you longe lif, and well to doo. Writen at Carleton the viij. day of Decembre.

By yours assured

TH. ELYOT K^t^

To the right worshipfull
and myne assuryd frende
Mr. Cromwell.

LETTER CXLIII.

Edward Earl of Hertford, afterwards Protector, to Lord Cromwell.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 104. *Orig.*]

Mr veri good Lord, after mi right harte commendacions, this schal be to advertise the same that this day, the xii^th^ of Juli, I reseyvid your Letter datid att Okyng the ix^th^ of the same, wher in I perseyve your Lordshep hath made me partisipant to the kyngs Highnis Let^rs^ latli com from Mast^r^ Wottun and the biship of Heriford, for which yo^r^ jentell rememberans I most harteli thank yo^r^ good lordship, and am as glad of the good resolucion of the Deuk of Cleves his mother and

Cunsell, as ever I was of thing sithen the birth of the Prense; for I think the kyngs Highnes schould not in Cristundum mari in no plas, meght for his Grasis onar that schould be lesse prejudiciall to his majestes succecion. And as conserning the other part of yo^{r} Let^{r}, that the French Kyng begenith to be veri jentell to the Kyngs Highnes, I am right glad ther of, for that I think the amite of Aquamort will not long indeur, but I would aben^{a} more gladar yf that his jentillnis had prosedid of love and not for his porpös. I am nothing sori to perseyve yo^{r} Lordship is lik schorteli to prove a profit^{b}, in that you would allweis sey yeu were suar the amite betwene the Emperour and French Kyng wouldnot contineu: and as for yo^{r} lordshipis rememberans of Shen I doo not dowght but that you woull acomplich hit when oportunite will sarve. I intend with Gods leve to se the Kyngs Highnes and yo^{r} Lordshep with in a wik^{c}, wherfor I will forber fro fardar trubeling you att this time. Thus I comit you to God, hoo^{d} send yo^{r} lordshep as well to far^{e} as I would mi sellfe. Fro Wollfall the xvij Juli w^{t} the ill hand of yo^{r} lordshepis assurid

E. HERTFORD.

To my veri good Lord Previ sell
is good Lordshep.

[a] have been. [b] prophet. [c] week. [d] who. [e] fare.

LETTER CXLIV.

Extract of a Letter from Nicholas Wotton to King Henry the Eighth, giving an Account of the Person and Accomplishments of the Lady Anne of Cleves.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. XXI. fol. 186. *Orig.*]

*** Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde were the persons deputed to negotiate Henry the Eighth's marriage with Anne of Cleves. A previous Letter to that from which the following extract is made, occurs in the same volume, fol. 178; dated Cleves, May 3d. 1539. The former part of the present Letter, which is much burnt, reports some negotiations between the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Saxony, and some other German Princes.

* * * * *

— I fynd the Counsell willing yn nough to publisshe and manifeste to the World, that by eny covenauntes made by th'olde Duke of Cleves and the Duke of Lorayne, my Lady Anne is not bownden; but ever hathe ben and yet is at her free libertye to marye where ever she wille.

As for th'education of my sayde Ladye, she hathe from her childehode (lyke as the Ladye Sybille was, tyll she wer maryed[a], and the Ladye Amelye hathe ben and is) ben brought up withe the Ladye Duchesse her mother, and yn maner never from her ellebow, the Ladye Duchesse being a wyse Ladye, and one that verye streytelye lookithe to her children. All the gentylmenne of the cowrte, and other that I have ask-

[a] Sybille, or Sybilla, was married to the Elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant League.

yd of, rapporte her to be of verye lowlye and gentyll condicions, by the whiche she hathe so muche wonne her mothers favor, that she is verye lothe to suffer her to departe from her. She occupiethe her tyme moste with the nedyll, wherwithall she . . . . . She canne reede and wryte her . . . . but Frenche, Latyn, or other langaige she . . . . . one nor yet canne not synge nor pleye upon onye instrument; for they take it heere yn Germanye for a rebuke and an occasion of lightenesse that great Ladyes shuld be lernyd or have enye knowledge of musike. Her witte is so goode, that no doubte she wille yn a shorte space lerne th'Englisshe tongue, when so ever she puttithe her mynde to hit. I cowde never heere that she is ynclyned to the good cheere of this Cowntrey, and merveyle it wer yf she shulde, seinge that her brother, yn whome yet hit were sumwhat more tolerable, dothe so well absteyne from hit. Your Graces servante Hanze Albein [a] hath taken th'effigies of my Ladye Anne and the Ladye Amelye, and hathe expressyd theyr imaiges verye lyvelye.

* * * * * * * * *

Written at Duren the xjth daye of August A°. Dñi. 1539.

Yo^{r} Highnesse moste bownden subject, and dayelye bedemanne,

NICHOLAS WOTTON.

[a] Hans Holbein.

After the death of Jane Seymour, Henry the Eighth made several attempts to marry. His first offer was to the duchess dowager of Milan, but her answer is said to have been that she had but one head; if she had had two, one should have been at his majesty's service. He was next anxious to have had Mary of Guise, but she was betrothed and afterwards married to the King of Scots. Henry would then have made choice of one of the two sisters of Mary of Guise, if Francis the First would have consented to have brought them to Calais for his inspection: but this being refused, Holbein was despatched to Flanders to paint the very Miniature of Anne of Cleves mentioned in the preceding Letter: and he drew so favourable a likeness that Henry made up his mind to be enamoured of her. The consequences of the painter's flattery were serious. Anne of Cleves landed at Deal December the 27th 1539, and was married to Henry, Jan. 6th 1540. But Henry did not give his *inward* consent when he espoused her; a sentence of divorce was, in consequence, passed between them on July 9th following: Cromwell losing his head on July 28th.

Anne of Cleves, though evidently unsuited as a wife to Henry, appears to have been a woman of good sense. She saw the danger to which she was exposed, and made no scruple to acquiesce in the separation; still, after the affront she had received, a residence in Flanders was not to her taste; she preferred passing the remainder of her days in England. She died at Chelsey, July 15th. 1557.

The identical picture mentioned in Nicholas Wotton's Letter, is believed both by Granger and Lord Orford to have been the Miniature which was a few years ago in the Collection of Mr. Barrett at Lee in Kent; and which was engraved for the Illustrious Heads. Lord Orford thought it the most exquisitely perfect of all Holbein's works, as well as in the highest preservation. The print, he adds, gives a very inadequate idea of it, and none of her Flemish fairness. It was preserved in the ivory box in which it came over, and which represented a rose so delicately carved as to be worthy of the jewel it contained.

LETTER CXLV.

The Lords of the Council to King Henry VIIIth respecting the Lord Lawarre. A. D. 1539.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. I. fol. 70. *Orig.*]

*** The particular fact alluded to in the following Letter, the offence given to King Henry the VIIIth by the Lord La Warre, is not mentioned by our Historians. Dugdale, in his Baronage, is equally silent upon it.

Our most bounden dueties right humbly remembred to your most excellent Maieste. Please your most noble Grace to be advertised that We your most humble subjects and obedient servaunts have this present daye employed all our most diligence, industrie, and activite to trye oute the veray botom and pith of suche things as the Lorde Lawarre hath ben detected to have offended your Majeste. But as yet we can fynde no sufficient grounde to committe hym to prison into your Graces Towr. And for thies two or thre dayis th'affaires (as your Maieste knoweth) be suche that we have differred tyll the same be passed the further enserching, with all meanes possible to trye the very effect of his detection. In the meane tyme we have in your Maiesties name commaunded hym to write all suche things as he hath allredy confessed, and that can come to his mynd. And further, that upon payne of his allegeaunce he shal kepe his house, and commone with no maner suspecte persone tyll we shall further declare unto hym your graciouse pleasur. Beseching your most noble and benigne Grace that, seen [a] upon consyderacion that we fynde as yet no sufficient mater agenst hym, and that having respect aswell to your mercyfull clemencye, as also to your Graces honor, that wold not have hym upon a weak grounde (wherof he myght clere hym self afterwarde) to be extremely handeled, we have respyted his Emprisonement. It may please

[a] seing.

your Highnes not to be offended therewith, but to pardone us as we trust your Highnes of your most gracious disposition woll. Assuredly if we shuld have committed hym to the Towr, howesoever the matier shuld waye, it shuld so moch touch his honeste, and he by the same shuld be put to such a rebuke, that he shuld never be hable to recover it. Therefore agayn, most humbly prostrate at your Maiesties fete, we beseche the same to pardone us: not doubting but in the same and all other your Highnes maters we shal not faile to endevoyre our selfs according to our most bounden dueties as shalbe, we hoope, to your Graces satisfaction and contentement. Prayeng Allmyghty God to maynteyne your Ma^tie^s prosperouse regne, honor, and lif, to our fruition long to endure. Writen at your Graces Cite of London, the first daye of Decembr the xxx^th^ yere of yo^r^ most prosperouse and noble regne.

Your Maiesties most bounden feithfull
and humble subjects servaunts
and beadesmen

THOMAS AUDELEY.
T. NORFOLK.
CHARLYS SUFFOLK.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
ROBT. SUSSEX.
E. HERTFORD.
W. SOUTHAMPTON.

"To the Kings moost Royall Maieste."

LETTER CXLVI.

Ten Ladies of the Court, to King Henry the Eighth, upon visiting His Majesty's new Great Ship at Portsmouth.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. XIII. fol. 148.]

*** Mabyll Lady Southampton, the first person whose name is affixed to this Letter, was the wife of Thomas Fitzwilliam admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoine, and Aquitaine; who, in the 29th of Henry the Eighth, was advanced to the title and dignity of Earl of Southampton. From this circumstance, and the mention of Prince Edward, it is evident that the Letter could not have been written much before 1540.

What was the name of the new Great Ship alluded to, the editor has not discovered. The "Regent" had been burnt in an action in 1513; immediately upon the destruction of which the "Henry Grace de Dieu" was built of a thousand ton. Queen Elizabeth built a similar Ship called "the Trade's Increase," of twelve hundred ton.

Most gratiouse and benigne sovraigne Lorde, please it your Highnes to understonde that wee have seene and beene in your newe Greate Shippe, and the rest of your shippes at Portismowth, wiche arr things so goodlie to beeholde, that, in our liefs wee have not seene (excepting your royall person and my lord the Prince your sonne) a more pleasaunt sight; for wiche, and the most bountiful gifts, the chere and most gratiouse enterteignment, wich your Grace hath vouchsavid to bestowe upon us your most unworthie and humble servaunts, wee rendre and send unto the same our most humble and entier thanks wich wee beseche

your Ma^tie to accept in good parte, advertising the same that there rest nowe but only ij. sorowes; the tone for lacke of your royall presence that ye might have seene your said Shippes, nowe at this tyme whan wee might have waited on you here; the toodre that wee thinke long til it may eftsones lieke you to have us with you, wiche wee all most hertely beseche our Lord God may bee shortely; who preserve your most noble person, and my Lord Prince, and graunte you bothe to reigne over us; Your Majesty many yeris, His Grace with long continuance but by late succession, as never Princes did before You. From Your Majesties havon and towne of Portismowth the iiij^th of August.

Yo^r Highnes most bounden
and humble servaunts,
and beadwomen

MABYELL SOWTHAMPTON
MARGARET TAYLEBOIS, MARGRETT HOWARDE,
ALYS BROWNE. ANNE KNEVYTT. JANE DENNY.
JANE MEOWS ANNE BASSET
ELIZABETH TYRWHYT ELSABETH HARVY.

LETTER CXLVII.

Ottwell Johnson, to his brother John Johnson a merchant of the Staple at Calais, describing the Execution of Queen Catherine Howard.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS MAJESTY'S RECORD OFFICE IN THE TOWER.]

*** Our principal information of the crimes and death of Queen Catherine Howard is derived from two sources only: from a Letter which the Lords of the Council addressed to M^r. William Pagett our ambassador in France[a], and from the Act of Attainder. The latter is not upon the Statute Roll; but the original Act is preserved in the Parliament Office, in the bundle of the 37^th. Hen. VIII.

The following Extract from a Merchant's Letter, presents an Account of the Execution by an eye-witness, who unquestionably informs us that both the Queen and Lady Rochford made a full confession of their guilt.

At London the 15^th day in February 1541[b].

* * * * * * *

From Calleis I have harde nothing as yet of your sute to my Lord Gray: and for news from hens, know ye, that even according to my writing on Sonday last, I se the Quene and the Lady Retcheford suffer within the Tower, the day following[c], whos sowles (I doubt not) be with God, for thay made the moost godly and christyan's end, that ever was hard tell of (I thinke) sins the worlds creation; uttering thayer lively faeth in the blode of Christe onely, and with goodly words and stedfast countenances thay desyred all christen people

[a] MS. Cotton. Otho, c. x. fol. 251. The Letter is much burnt.
[b] The ecclesiastical computation A. D. 1541-2. [c] Feb. 13^th. 1542.

to take regard unto thayer worthy and just punnishment with death for thayer offences, and agenst God hainously from thayer youth upward, in breaking all his commandements, and also agenst the King's royall Majesty very daungeriously: wherfor thay being justly condempned (as thay sayed) by the Lawes of the Realme and Parlement, to dye, required the people (I say) to take example at them, for amendement of thayer ungodly lyves, and gladdly to obey the King in all things, for whos preservation thay did hartely pray; and willed all people so to do: commending thayer sowles to God, and ernestly calling for mercy upon him: whom I besieche to geve us grace, with suche faeth, hope, and charite at our departing owt of this miserable world, to come to the fruytion of his godhed in joy everlasting. Amen.

Your loving brother

OTWELL JOHNSON.

With my harty commendacions unto M^r^ Cave and M^tres^ Cave, not forgetting my syster your wiff, I pray you lett them be made parttakers of thies last newes, for surely the thing is well worth the knowledge.

LETTER CXLVIII.

Fragment of a Letter of King Henry the Eighth to Queen Catherine Parr.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. E. IV. fol. 56 b. *Orig.*]

*** What remains of this Letter, is, itself, but a burnt fragment; the Volume containing it having been injured very much in the fire at Westminster in 1731.' The portion here selected, is that part only which is written intirely in the King's hand. The early part of the Letter is in the hand of a Secretary. It was written before Boulogne, Sept. 8th. 1544.

. . . the closyng upp off thes our Letters thi . . . . the castell affore namyd with the Dike is att our com- . . . ment[a] and nott lyke to be recovert by the frence men agayne, as we trust: not dwghtyng[b] with Gods grace but that the castell and towne shall sortly[c] folow the same trade: for as thys day, whyche is the viij[th] day of September, we begynne thre bateryse, and have iij. mynys goyng, by syd won whyche hath done hys execution in scakyng[d] and teryng off woon off theyre grettest bulwarkes. No more to yow att thys tyme swethart bothe for lacke off tyme and grett occupation off bysynes, savyng we pray yow to gyff in our name our harte blessyngs to all our chyldren, and recommendations to our cousin Margett[e], and the rest off the lads[f] and gentyll women, and to our Consell allsoo. Wryttyn with the hand off your lovyng howsbande

HENRY R.

[a] commandment. [b] doubting. [c] shortly. [d] shaking.
[e] The Lady Margaret Douglas, who was niece to King Henry, may possibly be here meant.
[f] ladies.

LETTER CXLIX.

Prince Edward to Queen Catherine Parr.

[MS. COTTON. NERO C. X. fol. 4. *Orig.*]

*** A few short Letters are now presented to the Reader, explanatory of the style and manner in which King Edward the Sixth, in his younger years and in his father's life time, was instructed to address the different members of his family. Three to Queen Catherine Parr afford specimens of his style in English, Latin, and French; there is one to the Princess Mary in Latin; one to King Henry the Eighth thanking him for various clothes and toys; and one to archbishop Cranmer in return for a present of a Cup. These appear all to have been written in or about 1546, when Prince Edward was in his ninth year[a].

Of the Harleian Manuscript from which the three last of these Letters have been taken, a particular account will be hereafter given.

Most honorable and entirely beloued mother, I have me most humbli recommended unto your Grace w^{t} lyke thankes, both for y^{t} your Grace did accepte so gentylly my simple and rude letters, and also y^{t} it pleased your Grace so gentylly to vowchsaufe to directe unto me your louing and tendre letters, which do geue me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such thinges wherein your Grace bereath me on hand, y^{t} I am alredy entered. I pray God I maie be hable in part to satisfy the good expectation of the Kings Maiesti my father and of your Grace, whom God have ever in his most blessed keping.

Your louing sonne

E. PRINCE.

[a] He was born on St. Edward's eve, October the 12th, 1537.

LETTER CL.

Prince Edward to the Queen.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 18. *Orig.*]

FORTASSE miraberis me tam sepe ad te scribere, idque tam brevi tempore, Regina nobilissima, et Mater charissima, sed eadem ratione potes mirari me erga te officium facere. Hoc autem nunc facio libentius, quia est mihi idoneus nuncius servus meus, et ideo non potui non dare ad te literas ad testificandum studium meum erga te. Optime valeas Regina nobilissima. Hunsdoniæ. Vigesimo quarto Maij.[a]

Tibi obsequentissimus filius

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

Illustrissimæ Reginæ
matri meæ.

LETTER CLI.

Prince Edward to the Queen.

[HARL. MS. 6986, *art.* 9. *Orig.*]

JE vous mercie tres noble & tres excellente Roine de voz lettres lesquelles vous m'envoiastes dernierement non seulement pour la beaute de voz lettres mais aussy pour l'invention des mesmes lettres. Car quand je voiois vostre belle escriture & l'excellence de vostre engin

[a] From the Harleian MS. 5087. it appears that this Letter was written in 1546.

grandement precedant mon invention je nausois vous escrire: mais quand ie pensois que vostre n[a] . . . . . estoit si bonne, que toute chose procedant d'un bon esprit et vouloir s . . . acceptable, je vou ay escrit ceste lettre cy. De ma maison de Hampton Court.

EDWARD.

A la tres noble et tres
excellente Roine.

LETTER CLII.

Prince Edward to his sister the Princess Mary.

[HARL. MS. 5087. *art.* 6.]

*** This and the two Letters which follow, are from a Volume in the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, containing a fair transcript of the Latin Letters and Exercises of King Edward the Sixth, chiefly when Prince. It is written upon paper, is bound in vellum, with the Royal Arms, France and England quarterly, stamped in gold upon the covers; and is the very book which King Edward himself kept. It is entitled "Epistolæ Edouardi Principis illustrissimi, quas suopte marte composuit et scripsit anno ætatis nono."

The Letters, forty-three in number, bear date from different places. Hertford, Hunsdon, Hatfield, the Tower of London, St. James's, Hampton Court, and Oatlands. They are addressed to the King, to Queen Catherine Parr, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, to Cox his almoner and preceptor, to the Duke of Somerset, and one to archbishop Cranmer; with a copy of the "Responsio Regis E. VI. ad nuncium Regis Poloniæ, anno primo, 9° Septembris." From the tenderness of Edward's age, as well as from the quotations of Erasmus, Job, Solomon, Ludovicus Vives, St. Paul, Horace, Cicero, and Aristippus, which they contain, it may be fairly concluded that his Majesty was assisted in the enditing of them by his Latin tutor.

The Declamations are six in number, all bearing date in June and July 1549. Two only have titles; "An præscientia rerum sit utilis;" and "Dulce bellum inexpertis."

[a] *f.* nature.

Etsi non scribo ad te frequenter soror charissima, tamen nollem te putare me esse ingratum et tui oblivisci. Nam diligo te eque bene ac si misissem crebrius ad te literas, et amo te sicut frater debet amare charissimam sororem, quæ habet omnia ornamenta virtutis et honestatis in se. Quemadmodum enim induo optimas vestes rarissime, illas tamen amo plus aliis, sic scribo ad te rarissime, sed amo te plurimum. Preterea gaudeo te convaluisse, audivi enim te ægrotasse. Sic enim facio propter fraternum amorem quem tibi debeo, et benevolentiam erga te meam opto tibi perpetuam salutem tum corporis, tum animi. Vale in Christo mea charissima soror. Hunsdoniæ[a], octavo Maij.

E. PRINCEPS.

[a] Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, had been a place of some eminence at an earlier day. William of Wyrcestre in his Itinerary states a castellated mansion of brick to have been built here by Sir William Oldhall, in the 26th Hen. VI. which, with the stables &c. cost seven thousand marks, 6s. 2½d. Its owner afterwards took part with Richard the Third, and fell in Bosworth field: when the manor becoming forfeited, it was granted for their lives to Margaret countess of Richmond and her husband the earl of Derby.

In the 23d of Hen. VIII. the King, having greatly increased the buildings here, erected it into a Palace Royal, and annexing to it the neighbouring manors of Roydon and Stansted, converted it into an Honor: fixing upon it as the chief place for the nursing and education of his children.

King Edward VIth, by patent dated 17th May in his second year, assigned the Honor of Hunsdon to his sister the Lady Mary, who resided here till the Lady Jane Gray was proclaimed Queen, when she removed to Framlingham in Suffolk.

In the 4th and 5th Phil. and Mar. the Honor of Hunsdon was annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster. Queen Elizabeth however again separated Hunsdon from the crown, and granted the manor to Henry Carey, afterwards Lord Hunsdon, the son of her mother's sister Mary Boleyn by Sir William Carey.

Here the history of Hunsdon as a Palace ends. Considerable remains of its ancient buildings still exist. It is situated about four miles from Hoddesdon.

LETTER CLIII.

Prince Edward to his father, King Henry the Eighth.

[MS. HARL. 5087. *art.* 16.]

INGENTES tibi gratias debeo agere, Rex nobilissime, atque pater colendissime, quod me tam humaniter tractasti sicut pater mei amantissimus, & qui me velles nunquam non recte agere. Gratiam etiam tibi habeo quod dedisti mihi magna dona et preciosa, ut catenas, annulos cum globulis, gemmas, torques, et bullas, et monilia, vestes, et permulta alia. In quibus rebus et donis apparet paterna tua pietas in me. Si enim me non amares, nolles præbere mihi dona tam gemmea. Mihi autem præbes hæc omnia non ut essem superbus, et mihi nimium placerem, videremque excellere omnes, sed ut me impelleres ad studium omnis veræ virtutis et pietatis, et ut ornares et excoleres me omnibus ornamentis quæ digna sunt Principe. Denique ut ego tanto amore affectus essem ingratissimus. Deus enim me jubet amare inimicum, et multo magis amare patrem meum qui duxit me in hanc lucem. Vale Rex nobilissime atque pater venerande, atque precor Deum ut te servet. E domo tua palustri, quarto Augusti, anno 1546.

LETTER CLIV.

Prince Edward to Archbishop Cranmer.

[MS. HARL. 5087. *art.* 32.]

DUÆ res mihi calcar addiderunt ut ad te literas scribam Susceptor amantissime. Prima ut tibi gratias agam ob calicem, deinde ob literas tuas quas ad me postremum misisti. Poculum tuum perhibet testimonium te mihi plurimos felicissimos annos optare ac precari. Ex literis autem tuis multum fructus accepi, quod in illis me hortaris, atque veluti stimulum mihi addis ad perdiscendas bonas literas, quæ mihi usui futuræ sint cum ad virilem perveniam ætatem. Literæ vero bonæ, et artes liberales, mihi discendæ sunt, quod Aristippus hoc dicere solet. Disce puer quæ tibi viro sunt usui futura, atque etiam huic quadrat quod ille Cicero eloquentissimus autor narrat: Literarum studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, res secundas ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur. Denique exoratum te volo ut boni consulas latinitatem meam, ipsa barbarie barbariorem, cum tua eloquentia sit excellentissima. Vale Susceptor amantissime, oculis meis mihi charior, cui multum fælicitatis opto. Hartfordiæ 24° Januarij anno 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

LETTER CLV.

Henry Radclyf, Earl of Sussex, to his Countess, notifying the death of Henry the Eighth. A. D. 1547.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. II. fol. 51. *Orig.*]

MADAME with most lovyng and hertie commendacions, thies be to signifie unto you that our late Soveraigne Lord the King departed at Westminster uppon Friday last the xxviijth of this instant Januarie about two of the clock in the mornyng. And the Kings Majestie that nowe is proclaymed King this present last day of the same moneth. And lik as for the departure of th'on wee may lament, so for th'establisshment of thother to all our comforts we may rejoyce. The names of his Executours ar th'archbischop of Canterburie, the Lord Wriothesley lord Chauncelor of Englond, the Lord St. John lord president of the Counsaile and Gret Master, the Lord Russell Lord Privie Seale, the Erle of Hertford lord Great Chamberlein of Englond, the Viscount Lesley lord Admiral, the bisshop of Derham, Mr. Secretarie Paget, Sir Anthonie Denie, Sir Anthonie Browne, Sir William Herbert, The Chief Justice of the Common Place, Bromley another Justice ther, Sir Thomas Baker Chauncelor of the tenthes, Sir Edward North, and divers other aidours to the same, which for lak of tyme I pretermit.

The Parliament is clerely dissolved: the Terme and all writs closed. The Court is nowe at the Tower from whens the Kings Majestie tomorrow shalbe receyved and conducted to his Hous Derehamplace. His Hyghnes Coronacion shalbe at Shrovetyme.

For my oone matiers hetherto, thorough the gret and diligent busines that my lord Chauncelor hath had, I could espye no tyme mete to the purpoos; but shal nevertheles as sone as oportunitie may serve set forth the same. And for your repaire hether in th'end of this weke I shall send unto you Henry Northey, by whom you shal knowe my determynat pleasur. In the meane tyme I require you to put all soch things in order as shalbe mete for you here.

Thus, good Madame albeit the contents of your Lettres diverslie at length tending to the lak of good wil in me that ought to be in a lovyng husband; the same nevertheles as I think proceding of a good hert might otherwise have bin qualified I wisse to you my owne hert as to my self. From Eliplace in Holborne the last day of January in the first yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne King Edward the Sixeth.

Your assured lovyng husbond

HENRY SUSSEX.

To my wief
The Countas of Sussex.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGNS OF

KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

AND

QUEEN MARY.

In illustration of Civil History, the information afforded in original Letters during the Reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary is comparatively scanty. All men seem to have been occupied with Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Strype and one or two other writers have made so rich a harvest of the Letters which illustrate the struggle of the two Religions in these reigns, that it has been thought best, with the exception of a single Letter from the Princess Mary to her brother, on the subject of the Mass, to avoid the notice of them altogether.

The Editor was anxious, indeed, to have enriched his volumes with copies of three Latin Letters of the Lady Jane Gray to Henry Bullinger, one of the Swiss reformers, which are preserved in the public Library of the town of Zurich. They are upon religious topics, and are stated by tradition to have been written during her Imprisonment; but that is scarcely probable, for she then signed her name Jane Duddeley: whereas these are signed Joanna Graia. One ends, "Tibi ad omnia pietatis officia paratissima, Joanna Graia." In the same Volume which contains these letters, are German translations of them in Bullinger's hand-writing.

Having been unsuccessful in the application to obtain transcripts of these, they are mentioned here in the hope that some other person who may take the pains to enquire after them at Zurich, may be more successful.

Such of the Lady Jane Gray's Latin Letters as are extant in England, are usually signed Jana Graia.

LETTER CLVI.

King Edward the Sixth to Queen Catherine Parr.

[MS. HARL. 5087. *art.* 34.]

*** Three Letters of condolence, in Latin, from King Edward the Sixth to his step-mother and sisters, upon the death of Henry the Eighth, are now presented to the Reader. They are his earliest Letters as King. It must be owned indeed, that they savour more of the tutor's hand than of King Edward's; and that they have somewhat of coldness, if not of common-place in their expression. Cox, the Latin tutor of King Edward, it should seem, could not assume for his pupil that expression of natural grief which he did not personally feel himself.

Our Historians are probably mistaken, who suppose that Henry had the love and affection of his subjects to the last. From the privy counsellor, to the monk whom the Reformation had turned adrift upon the world, all was fear. So sudden and so overwhelming, in the latter part of life, were the transports of Henry's fury. By thousands of his subjects, his death must have been considered as a merciful release for themselves. We cannot but contrast this with the universal and unfeigned satisfaction which marked his coming to the throne. William Montjoy, at that time, writing from the Court at Greenwich to Erasmus, thus expressed himself, "Nihil vereor, mi Erasme, quin ubi primum audisti Principem nostrum, HENRICUM OCTAVUM, seu potius *Octavium*, defuncto patri in regnum successisse, omnis tibi ex animo ægritudo repente abierit."—"O mi Erasme, si videas, ut mortales omnes hic lætitia gestiant, ut de tanto Principe sibi gaudeant, ut nihil magis exoptent quam ejus vitam, lachrymas præ gaudio continere non posses. *Ridet æther, exultat terra, omnia lactis, omnia mellis, omnia nectaris sunt plena.* Exulat longe gentium AVARITIA, larga manu spargit opes liberalitas. NOSTER REX non aurum, non gemmas, non metalla, sed VIRTUTEM, sed GLORIAM, sed ÆTERNITATEM *concupiscit.*"[a]

PLURIMAS tibi gratias ago ob epistolam quam ad me postremam misisti, clarissima mater; quæ sane est signum insignis tui, ac quotidiani amoris in me. Porro cum visum sit Deo optimo maximo ut meus pater et

[a] Desid. Erasmi Epist. ut supr. tom. i. p. 7.

tuus conjunx, Rex illustrissimus, hanc vitam finiret, nobis ambobus communis est dolor. Hoc vero nobis consolationem affert, quod jam sit in cœlo, atque quod ex hac vita misera profectus sit in fælicem atque æternam beatitudinem. Quisquis enim hic felicem agit vitam, atque rempublicam recte gubernat, sicut nobilissimus meus pater fecit, qui promovit omnem pietatem atque expulit omnem ignorantiam, habet certissimum iter in cœlum. Quamvis vero natura jubet dolere ac lachrymas effundere ob discessum ejus absentis, tamen scriptura ac prudentia jubet moderari affectus istos ne videamur nullam omnino spem habere resurrectionis mortuorum et vitæ defunctorum. Præterea cum tua celsitudo in me tot beneficia contulit, ego debeo quicquid commodi possem tibi afferre præstare. Opto tuæ celsitudini plurimam salutem. Vale Regina veneranda. E Turri septimo Februarii anno 1546[a].

E. REX.

LETTER CLVII.

King Edward the Sixth to his sister the Princess Mary.

[MS. HARL. 5087. *art.* 35.]

NATURA non sapientia nobis classicum canit ad lamentandum patris nostri charissimi mortem. Natura

[a] A. D. 1546-7.

enim putat se illum amisisse mortuum, at sapientia credit quod is qui vivit cum Deo est in æterna felicitate. Quare cum Deus miserit nobis talem sapientiam non debemus mortem illius lugere, cum ejus voluntas sit, qui omnia in bonum operatur. Quod ad me autem pertinet, ero tibi charissimus frater et omni benevolentia exuberans. Deus optimus maximus te imbũat suis donis. Vale. E Turri Londoniense, octavo Februarii anno 1546[a].

E. REX.

LETTER CLVIII.

King Edward the Sixth, to the Princess Elizabeth.

[MS. HARL. 5087. *art.* 36.]

MINIME opus est mihi te consolari charissima Soror, quod eruditione tua cognoscis quid sit faciendum, prudentia vero et pietate tua, quod eruditio docuit te cognoscere facto præstas. Non enim lugendus est pater noster, quamvis nobis charissimus fuerit, quod jam sit in cœlo, nec mors ejus deploranda quæ est via ex hac vita misera ad longe feliciorem. Quare quisque debet adniti pro viribus ut Sapientia vincat naturam, et fortitudo moderetur affectus, et consilium gubernet judicium populi. Quisquis enim hoc facit, is vere Chris-

[a] A. D. 1548-7.

tianus appellatur, at si quis dicat qui huic contrarium facit Christianum eum certe falso atque illi indigno nomine nuncupat. Præterea literæ tuæ mihi admodum arridebant, tum quod in illis elegantes sententiæ continentur, tum quod ex illis sentio te æquo consuluisse animo mortem patris nostri. Porro si ullo modo possum tibi commodare libenter præstabo. Optime vale. E Turri, octavo Februarii anno 1546[a].

E. REX.

LETTER CLIX.

King Edward VI^th^ to his Uncle the Earl of Hertford.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 14. *Orig.*]

EDOUARDUS REX.

LITERÆ tuæ, Cognate suavissime, mihi longe gratissimæ fuerunt multis de causis. Primum quia cum eas bene perpendo, sentio in te maximam gratitudinem, et animi humanitatem, deinde video te literis imbutum esse, postremo vero animadverto tuam insignem diligentiam. Perge igitur in preclaro tuo incœpto, sisque erga omnes gratus et humanus, nec amorem tuum subtrahas erga literas et preclaram philosophiam, denique adhibe diligentiam in omnibus tuis conatibus. Si etenim humanitate precellueris, omnes naturæ

[a] A. D. 1546-7.

tuæ bonitatem valde suspicient. Præterea si amore literas prosequaris, et legi divinæ des operam, optimus quisque te ad cœlum usque extollet. Postremo si fueris assiduus, omnia tibi felicissime succedent. Itaque pro tua erga me humanitate, non possum non te maxime diligere, pro studio tuo erga literas infracto, non te vehementer laudibus vehere, proque diligentia tua incomparabili, non te merito admirari. Vale. Ex divi Jacobi. Nono die Junij.

Cognato meo chariss°,
Edouardo Hardfordiensi.

LETTER CLX.

*The Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI^th^*

[HARL. MS. 6986. art. 16. *Orig.*]

LIKE as a shipman in stormy wether plukes downe the sailes tarijnge for bettar winde, so did I, most noble Kinge, in my vnfortunate chanche a thurday pluk downe the hie sailes of my ioy and comfort and do trust one day that as troblesome waues have repulsed me bakwarde, so a gentil winde wil bringe me forwarde to my hauen. Two chief occasions moued me muche and griued me gretly, the one for that I douted your Maiesties helthe, the other bicause for al my longe tarijnge I wente without that I

came for. Of the first I am releued in a parte, bothe that I vnderstode of your helthe, and also that your Maiesties loginge is far from my Lorde Marques chamber. Of my other grief I am not eased, but the best is that whatsoever other folkes wil suspect, I intende not to feare your graces goodwil, wiche as I knowe that I never disarued to faint, so I trust wil stil stike by me. For if your Graces aduis that I shulde retourne (whos wil is a commandemente) had not bine, I wold not haue made the halfe of my way, the ende of my iourney. And thus as one desirous to hire of your Maiesties helth, thogth vnfortunat to se it, I shal pray God for euer to preserue you. From Hatfilde this present Saterday.

Your Maiesties humble sistar
to commandemente
ELIZABETH.

To the Kinges most
excellent Maiestie.

LETTER CLXI.

The Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI^th^ with a Present of her Portrait.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 20. *Orig.*]

LIKE as the richeman that dayly gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of mony layeth a greate sort

fil it come to infinit, so methinkes your Maiestie, not beinge suffised withe many benefits and gentilnes shewed to me afore this time, dothe now increase them in askinge and desiring wher you may bid and commaunde, requiring a thinge not worthy the desiringe for it selfe, but made worthy for your Higthnes request. My pictur I mene, in wiche if the inward good mynde towarde your grace migth as wel be declared as the outwarde face and countenaunce shal be seen, I wold nor haue taried the commandement but preuent[a] it, nor have bine the last to graunt but the first to offer it. For the face, I graunt, I might wel blusche to offer, but the mynde I shal neuer be ashamed to present. For thogth from the grace of the pictur the coulers may fade by time, may giue by wether, may be spotted by chance; yet the other nor time with her swift winges shal ouertake, nor the mistie cloudes with ther loweringes may darken, nor chance with her slipery fote may ouerthrow. Of this althogth yet the profe coulde not be greate bicause the occasions hathe bine but smal, notwithstandinge as a dog hathe a daye, so may I perchaunce have time to declare it in dides wher now I do write them but in wordes. And further I shal most humbly beseche your Maiestie that whan you shal loke on my pictur, you wil witsafe[b] to thinke that as you haue but the outwarde shadow of the body afore you, so my in-

[a] prevented. [b] vouchsafe.

ward minde wischeth that the body it selfe wer oftner in your presence; howbeit bicause bothe my so beinge I thinke coulde do your Maiestie litel pleasur, thogth my selfe great good; and againe bicause I se as yet not the time agreing therunto, I shal lerne to folow this sainge of Orace[a], "Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest." And thus I wil (troblinge your Maiestie I fere) ende with my most humble thankes. Besechinge God longe to preserue you to his honour, to your comfort, to the realmes profit, and to my joy. From Hatfilde this 15 day of May.

Your Maiesties most humbly sistar

ELIZABETH.

LETTER CLXII.

King Edward the Sixth, to the Duke of Somerset, upon his Successes against the Scotch.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 16. *Orig.*]

DEREST Vncle, by your lettres and reporte of the messenger, we have at good length vnderstanded to our great comfort, the good success it hathe pleased God to graunt vs against the Scottes by your good courage and wise forsight; for the wich and other the benefites of God heaped vpon vs, like as we ar most bounden to yeld him most humble thankes, and to

[a] Horace.

seke bi all waies we mai his true honour, so do we give unto you, good Vncle, our most hartie thankes, praying you to thanke also most hartelie in our name our good Cosin therle of Warwike, and all the othere of the noble men, gentlemen, and others that have served in this iournei, of whose service, they shall all be well assured, we will not (God graunte us lief) shew our selfes vnmindfull, but be redy ever to consider the same as anie occasion shall serve. Yeven at our house of Otlandes, the eighteneth of September.

Your good neuew

EDWARD.

To our derest Vncle the Duke
of Somerset.

LETTER CLXIII.

The Princess Mary to the Lord Admiral Seymour.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 26. *Orig.*]

*** "Lord Seymour," says Hume, "was a man of insatiable ambition, arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity to the Protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address, he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the Queen dowager, that forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late King: insomuch, that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged."

The Letter from the Princess Mary, now before the reader, is in answer to an Application to her, upon his part, to assist his addresses. The Marriage, as the succeeding Letter will show, was, for some time concealed. The Queen died in child-bed in the month of September 1548.

My lorde after my harty commendacions theyse shalbe to declare to you that accordyng to your accoustomed gentilnes I have receyved six warrants from you by your seruant thys berer, for the whiche I do gyve you my harty thanks; by whom also I have receyved your lettre, wherin (as me thynketh) I parceyv strange newes concernyng a sewte you have in hande to the Quene for maryage; for the soner obtayneng wherof you seme to thynke that my lettres myghte do you pleasure. My lorde, in thys case, I truste, your wysdome doth consyder, that, if it weer for my nereste kynsman & dereste frend on lyve, of all other creatures in the worlde, it standeth lest w^t^ my poore honoure to be a medler in thys matter, consyderyng whose wyef her grace was of late; and besyds that, if she be mynded to grawnt your sewte, my lettres shall do you but small pleasure. On the other syde, if the remembrance of the Kyngs mayestye my father (whose soule God pardon) wyll not suffre her to grawnt your sewte, I am nothyng able to perswade her to forget the losse of hyme, who is as yet very rype in myn owne remembrance. Wherfore I shall moste earnestlye requyre you (the premysses consydered) to thynke non vnkyndnes in me, thoughe I refuse to be a medler any wayes in thys matter, assuryng you, that (woweng matters set aparte, wherin I beeng a mayde am nothyng connyng) if otherwayes it shall lye in my litle power to do you playser, I

shalbe as gladde to do it, as you to requyre it, both for hys blodds sake that you be of, and also for the gentylnes whiche I have alwayes fownde in you. As knoweth almyghty God, to whose tuicyon I commytte you. From Wansted[a] thys Saterday at nyghte beeng the iiijth of June.

Your assured frend
to my power,

MARYE.

LETTER CLXIV.

The Queen Dowager to the Lord Admiral Seymour.

[MS. IN MUS. ASMOL. OXON. *Orig.*]

MY LORD

As I gether by your Letter delyvered to my brother Harbert, ye ar in sum fere how to frame my lord your brother to speke in your favour; the denyall of yowr request schall make hys foly more manyfest to the world, wyche wyll more greve me than the want of hys spekyng. I wold not wyssche yow importune for hys good wyll, yf yt cum nott frankely at the fyrst, yt schalbe suffycyent ones to have requyre yt, and

[a] After the attainder of Sir Giles Heron, in the time of Henry VIIIth, the manorial residence at Wansted seems to have been occasionally used by the royal family. It was granted in 1549 to Robert Lord Rich.

after to cesse. I wold desyre ye myght obtayne the Kynge's Letters in yowre favour, and also the ayde and furtherans of the moost notable of the Counsell, suche as ye schall thynke convenyent, wyche thynge obtayned schalbe no small schame to yowr brother and lovyng syster, in case they do not the lyke. My Lord where as ye charge me w^t^ apromys wryttin w^t^ myne one hand, to chaunge the two yeres into two monethes, I thynke ye have no suche playne sentence wrytten w^t^ my hand; I knowe not wether ye be aparaphryser or not, yf ye be lerned in that syence yt ys possyble ye may of one worde make ahole sentence, and yett nott at all tymes after the true meanyng of the wryter; as yt aperyth by thys your exposycyon apon my wryttyng. Whan yt schalbe yowr pleasur to repayre hether ye must take sum payne to come erly in the mornyng, that ye may be gone agayne by seven aclocke and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray yow lett me have knowlege ver[a] nyght at what hower ye wyll come, that yowr porteresse may wayte at the gâte to the feldes for yow. And thus wyth my most humble and harty comendatyons I take my leve of yow for thys tyme gyvyng yow lyke thankes for yowr comyng to the court whan I was there. From Chelsey[b].

I wyll kepe in store tyll I speke w^t^ yow my lordes

[a] over.

[b] The manor of Chelsey was a part of the jointure of Queen Catherine Parr.

large offer for Fausterne, at wyche tyme I schalbe glad to knowe your further pleasur therein.

By her y[t] ys and schalbe yowr humble true and lovyng wyffe duryng her lyf

KATERYN THE QUENE. K. P.

LETTER CLXV.

The Princess Elizabeth to the Protector Somerset.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 35. *Orig.*]

*** Much will be found in illustration of the following Letter in Haynes's Collection of the Burleigh Papers. It relates to the Investigation which took place in 1548, when the Lord Admiral Seymour after the Queen dowager's death, made his Addresses to the Princess Elizabeth.

KATHERINE ASHLEY, in favor of whom it is written, was the governess to the Princess.

The reader who wishes to know more of this affair, will find, in Haynes, the Confessions both of the Lady Elizabeth and Katherine Ashley; with the Letter which the Lords of the Council sent to the Princess upon the dismissal of the latter[a].

At the beginning of Edward the Sixth's reign, the Princess had resided at Chelsey under the care of the Queen dowager; and even at that time, the Lord Admiral's behaviour to her was most unusually familiar.

My Lorde I have a requeste to make unto your Grace wiche feare has made me omitte til this time for two causes, the one bicause I sawe that my request for the rumors wiche were sprede abrode of me toke so litel place, wiche thinge whan I considered I thogth[b] I shulde litel profit in any other sute, howbeit now I

[a] Haynes's State Papers, fol. Lond. 1740. pp. 98—107.

[b] thought.

understande that ther is a Proclamacion for them (for the wiche I give your Grace and the rest of the counsel most humble thankes) I am the bolder to speake for a nother thinge; and the other was bicause paraventure your Lordeship and the rest of the Counsel wil thinke that I favor her ivel doinge for whome I shal speake for, wiche is for Kateryn Aschiley, that it wolde please your grace and the rest of the Counsel to be good unto her. Wiche thinge I do not to favor her in any ivel, (for that I wolde be sorye to do,) but for thes consideracions wiche folowe, the wiche hope dothe teache me in sainge that I ougth not to doute but that your Grace and the rest of the Counsel wil thinke that I do it for thre other consideracions. First, bicause that she hathe bene with me a longe time, and manye years, and hathe taken great labor, and paine in brinkinge of me up in lerninge and honestie, and therfore I ougth of very dewtye speke for her, for Saint Gregorie sayeth that we ar more bounde to them that bringeth us up wel than to our parents, for our parents do that wiche is natural for them, that is bringeth us into this Worlde; but our brinkers up ar a cause to make us live wel in it. The seconde is bicause I thinke that whatsoever she hathe done in my Lorde Admirals matter as concerninge the marijnge of me, she dide it bicause knowinge him to be one of the Counsel, she thogth he wolde not go about any suche thinge without he had the Counsels consent

therunto; for I have harde her manye times say that she wolde never have me mary in any place without your Graces and the Counsels consente. The thirde cause is bicause that it shal and doth make men thinke that I am not clere of the dide myselfe, but that it is pardoned in me bicause of my youthe, bicause that she I loved so wel is in suche a place. Thus hope prevailinge more with me than feare, hath wone the battel; and I have at this time gone furth with it. Wiche I pray God be taken no other wais that it is mente. Writen in hast. Frome Hatfilde this 7 day of Marche. Also if I may be so bolde not offendinge I beseche your Grace and the rest of the Counsel to be good to master Aschiley her husbonde, wiche bicause he is my kindesman I wold be glad he shulde do well.

Your assured frende to my litel
power
ELIZABETH.

To my verey good Lorde my
Lorde Protector.

LETTER CLXVI.

The Princess Elizabeth to the Lord Protector.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. 1236. fol. 33. *Orig.*]

*** The following Letter was probably written at the beginning of 1549, upon the substitution of the Lady Tyrwhit as governess to the Princess Elizabeth, in the room of Katherine Ashley.

My Lorde havinge reseuede your Lordeships letters, I parceve in them your goodwil towarde me bicause you declare to me plainlie your mynde in this thinge; and againe for that you wolde not wische that I shulde do any thinge that shulde not seme good unto the Counsel, for the wiche thinge I give you most hartie thankes. And wheras I do understande that you do take in ivel parte the letters that I did write unto your Lordeshipe, I am verye sorie that you shulde take them so for my mynde was to declare unto you plainlie as I thogth in that thinge, wiche I did also the more willingelye bicause (as I write to you) you desired me to be plaine with you in al thinges. And as concerninge that pointe that you write that I seme to stande in my none witte in beinge so wel assured of my none selfe, I did assure me of my selfe nomore than I trust the trueth shal trie; and to say that wiche I knewe of my selfe I did not thinke shulde have displeased the Counsel or your Grace. And surelye the cause whie that I was sorye that ther shulde be anye suche aboute me, was bicause that I thogth the people wil say that I deserved throwgth my lewde demenure to have such a one, and not that I mislike any thinge that your Lordeshipe or the Counsel shal thinke good, for I knowe that you and the Counsel ar charged with me; or that I tak upon me to rule my selfe, for I knowe the[a] ar most disceved that trusteth most in themselves, wherfore I trust you shal never finde that faute in me, to

[a] they.

the wiche thinge I do not se that your Grace has made anye directe answere at this time, and seinge the[a] make' so ivel reportes alreadie, shalbe but a increasinge of ther ivel tonges. Howbeit you did write that if I wolde bringe forthe anye that had reported it, You and the Counsel wolde se it. redreste, wiche thinge thogth I can easelye do it, I wolde be lothe to do it for bicause it is my none cause; and, againe, that shulde be but a bridinge of a ivel name of me that am glade to ponesse them, and so get the ivel wil of the people, wiche thinge I wolde be lothe to have. But if it mougth so seme good unto your Lordeshipe and the reste of the Counsel to sende forthe a proclamation in to the countries that the[a] refraine ther tonges, declaringe how the tales be but lies, it shulde make bothe the people thinke that You and the Counsel have great regarde that no suche rumors shulde be spreade of anye of the Kinges Maiesties Sisters, as I am, thougth vnwordie[b], and also I shulde thinke myselfe to receve suche frendeshipe at your handes as you have promised me, althogth your Lordeship hathe shewed me greate alreadie. Howbeit I am aschamed to aske it anye more, bicause I se you ar not so wel minded therunto. And as concerninge that you saye that I give folkes occasion to thinke in refusinge the good to vpholde the ivel, I am not of so simple understandinge, nor I wolde that your Grace shulde have so ivel a opinion of me that I have so litel

[a] they. [b] unworthy.

respecte to my none honestie that I wolde mainteine it if I had souficiente promis of the same, and so your Grace shal prove me whan it comes to the pointe. And thus I bid you farewel, desiringe God alwais to assiste you in al your affaires. Writen in hast. Frome Hatfelde this 21 of Februarye.

Your assured frende to my litel power

ELIZABETH.

To my verey good Lorde my Lorde Protector.

LETTER CLXVII.

The Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI^th^ upon his recovery from sickness.

[HARL. MS. 6986. ART. 12. *Orig.*]

QUÒD tanto temporis intervallo tàm raras a me literas acceperis, Rex illustrissime, quibus vel gratias agerem pro beneficiis, vel saltem debitam meam erga te observantiam testatam facerem, spero facile me veniam impetraturam: præsertim cum nulla admissa sit cessatio oblivione quadam tui, cujus nunquam oblivisci vel possum, vel debeo. Nunc vero cum tuam Majestatem in locis non procul Londino sitis versari intelligam, rumpendum mihi silentium esse duxi, ut testi-

ficarer, neque de debito meo erga te cultu quicquam esse remissum, neque tua incolumitate quicquam mihi esse posse optabilius quam firmam et integram esse ex quorundam sermone cognovi. Ego sane dum singula Dei Optimi et Maximi beneficia mente recolo, hoc unum ex omnibus maximum fuisse judico, quod te Londini ex proximo morbo tam subitò et clementer restituit. In quem quidem te Dei quadam providentia lapsum esse arbitror, quemadmodum proximis literis ad tuam Majestatem scripsi, ut omni morborum materia pulsa, tu hujusce regni habenis tractandis quamdiutissime servareris. Nihil æque incertum aut minus diuturnum quàm vita hominis, nimirum qui Pindari testimonio nihil sit aliud, quam vmbræ somnium. Et homine, vt ait Homerus, nihil terra alit fragilius. Cum itaque cujusque hominis vita tot tantisque casibus non modo sit exposita, sed etiam vincatur, singulari quadam divinæ providentiæ clementia et morbum preteritum abs te depulsum, et in istis locorum (quos a morbis non plane immunes fuisse cognovi) et aeris mutationibus tam crebris ab omnibus omnium morborum periculis te servatum esse judicamus. Cui providentiæ Majestatis tuæ tutelam committo, simulque rogo ut eandem quamdiutissime incolumem servet. Ashrigiæ 20 Septembris.

Majestatis tuæ humillima soror

ELIZABETA.

Illustrissimo & Nobilissimo
Regi Edouardo Sexto.

LETTER CLXVIII.

Princess Elizabeth to her brother King Edw. VI.

[HARL. MS. 6986. ART. 11. *Orig.*]

Quod ante hoc tempus nullas ad tuam Maiestatem literas dederim, Rex sereniss. & illustriss. nullasque pro singulari illa humanitate fraternoque amore coram mihi exhibitis gratias egerim, id queso ne aut beneficiorum oblivioni, quæ absit, aut segnitiei, quæ minime decet, sed aliis causis justissimis attribuendum esse existimet. Nam dum ad tuam Majestatem scribere sæpe conarer, corporis valetudo aliquantum adversa maxime vero capitis dolor ab incepto revocavit. Quo nomine spero tuam Celsitudinem meum erga se animum literar. vice accepturam esse. Qui quidem animus non tam ex ore quam ex corde profectus debitam quandam erga tuam Maiestatem observantiam & fidem declarabit. Verum hæc ego re ipsa & factis potius quam verbis a te cognosci cupio. Quod ut fiat ego omnibus viribus contendam. Quemadmodum enim aurum ubi igni excoctum & a scoria probe expurgatum fuerit, tum demum certo dignoscitur, sic opera cujuscunque hominis animum certissimo arguunt. Porro quod reliquum est ago tuæ Majestati gratias quam possum maximas, quod non tantum præsentem

præsens omnibus humanitatis officiis prosecuta sit, verumetiam nunc absens suum erga me absentem animum annulo misso testatum fecerit. Ex quo intelligere potui promissi memoriam tuæ Majestati refricare minime opus fuisse, non solum quia vt ne facerem tua Celsitudo jusserit, verumetiam propter ostensam[a] mihi benevolentiam de qua non dubitavi antea. Deus conservet tuam Majestatem qui incolumem & eandem (vt facere cepit) ad maximar. virtutum incrementa provehat. Enfeldiæ, 14 februarij.

Majestatis tuæ humillima

serva & soror

ELIZABETA.

Excelentissimo & nobiliss:
Regi Edouardo Sexto.

LETTER CLXIX.

The Princess Mary to . . . . . one of the King's Council[b].

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 28. *Orig.*]

It is no small greyf to me to parceyve that they whom the Kyngs Ma^te my father (whose soule God

[a] The word "monstratam" was first inserted here but obliterated.
[b] Probably about 1551.

pardon) made in thys worlde of nothyng in respecte of that they be comme to nowe, and at hys last ende put in truste to se hys Wyll perfourmed, wherunto they were all sworne upon a boke; it gryeveth me I say, for the love I beare to theym, to se both howe they breake his Wyll, and what usurped power they take upon theym, in makyng (as they call it) lawes both clean contrarye to hys procedyngs and Wyll, and also ageynst the coustome of all crystendome, and (in my conscyence) ageynst the lawe of God and hys Chyrche, whiche passeth all the reste. But thoughe you, among you, have forgotten the Kyng my father, yet bothe Gods commandment and Nature wyll not suffre me to do so; wherfore wyth Gods helpe I wyll remayne an obedyent chylde to his lawes as he lefte theym, tyll suche tyme as the Kyngs Majestie my brother shall have parfayt yers of discrecyon to ordre the power that God hath sent hym, and to be a Judge in theyse matters hym self; and I doubte not but he shall then accept my so doyng bettre then theyrs which have taken a pece of his power vpon theym in his mynoryte.

I do not alitle mervayle that you can fynde fawte with me for observyng of that lawe whiche was allowed by hym that was a Kyng not only of power, but also of knowledge howe to order hys power, to whiche lawe all you consented, and semed at that tyme to the

outwarde apparance very well to lyke the same, and that you could can fynde no fawte[a] all this whiell w[t] some amongste your selfes, for runnyng halfe a yere befor that which you nowe call a lawe, ye and before the by-shopps cam togyther, wherin me thynketh you do me very myche wrong if I shuld not have asmyche pre-emynence to contynew in kepyng a full authorysed lawe made without parcyalyte, as they had, bothe to breake the lawe which at that tyme your selfes muste neds confesse was of full power and strenghe, and to vse alteracyons of theyr owne Invencyon contrarye both to that ye[b] and to your newe lawe as you call it.

LETTER CLXX.

The Princess Elizabeth to the Princess Mary.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 39. *Orig.*]

Good Sistar as to hire of your siknes is unpleasant to me, so is it nothinge feareful, for that I understande it is your olde gest that is wont oft to viset you, whose comminge thogth it be oft, yet is it never welcome,

[a] An alteration, or rather an addition, occurs here in the margin. The whole in the Princess Mary's hand; but imperfect.

". . d more . . mediatly . . . kyng . . . . . dict . . . ons to have . . . procedyngs observed; wherfor I do wonder that you can fynde fawlte with me & non all thys whiel"—Possibly the whole of this Letter, though entirely in the Princess's hand, is but a rough Draft.

[b] A word seems here to have been omitted.

but notwithstanding it is comforttable for that "jacula prævisa minus feriunt." And as I do understande your nede of Jane Russels service, so am I sory that it is by my mans occasion letted, wiche if I had knowen afore, I wold have caused his wil give place to nide of her service, for as it is her duty to obey his commandement, so is it his part to attende your pleasure; and, as I confesse, it wer miter[a] for him to go to her, sins she attendes uppon you, so indide he required the same, but for that divers of his felowes had businesabrode, that made his tarijnge at home. Good Sistar thogth I have good cause to thanke you for your oft sendinge to me, yet I have more occasion to rendre you my harty thankes for your gentil writinge, wiche how painful it is to you, I may wel gesse by my selfe, and you may wel se by my writinge so oft, how pleasant it is to me. And thus I ende to troble you, desiring God to sende you as wel to do, as you can thinke and wische, or I desire or pray. Frome Hasherige scribled this 27th of October.

Your lovinge sistar

ELIZABETH.

To my welbeloved sistar
Marye.

[a] meter.

LETTER CLXXI.

The Princess Mary to . . . . . .

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. III. fol. 19 b. *Orig.*]

My Lorde, after my moste harty commendacyons, bicause I can not convenyently wyth my mouth rendre unto you in presence those thanks for the great goodnes I fynde in you dayly that the same dothe worthely deserve, I thoughte it my parte of congruence at the lest, by thise my rude letters, to advertise you that of my good wyll and prayour to do you stede or pleasur, you shalbe ever duryng my lief assured; whiche I truste your gentylnes wyll yet accept in worthe, consideryng it is all that I have wherwyth I canne repaye any parte of that chardge and parfaite frendshipe that I have and do fynde in you: hartily requyryng your contynuance, whiche besyds the purchasyng of my tedious sutes, wherwyth I do ever molest you, shalbe my great comforte. And thus I beseche God to sende you aswell to fare as I wold wyshe my selfe. At Rychemonde this Thursday nyghte.

Your assured lovyng frende
duryng my lief
MARYE.

LETTER CLXXII.

Divers Lords of the Council in London, to the Council at Windsor professing their purpose to remove the Duke of Somerset from the Protectorship. A. D. 1549.

[CALIG. B. VII. fol. 404. *Orig.*]

*** This and the three following Letters relate to the Conspiracy in the Privy Council of King Edward the Sixth, which brought on the first fall of the Protector Somerset. Stow, in his Annals, edit. 1681. p. 597. has printed two or three other Letters which complete the Series relating to this event. "On the sixt day of October," says Stow, "in the morning, the Earl of Warwick with other Lords of the Council, sent for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of London, to his place in Holborne, where was declared to them, by the Lord Chancellor and other of the King's Council, divers abuses of the Lord Protector, concerning the Kings person, and his affairs both in England and also in Scotland, and other his places beyond the Seas. And that afternoon was kept a Court of the Aldermen in the Guildhall, where was shewed a Letter from the King and the Lord Protector, for to have one thousand men of the City well harnessed with weapons, for defence of the King's Majestie's person. And another Letter also from the Lords of the Council, to have two thousand men to ayde them, for defence of the King's person: and also, that the Citie should be well kept with watches both day and night. And the same sixt day, the King being at Hampton Court, the Lord Protector caused Proclamations to be made in divers Townes near to the Court, for men to ayde the King against the Lords, and also sent Letters to divers towns to the same effect; whereupon great assemblies of people were made at Hampton Court. And in the night of the same day he conveyed the King to Windsor, with a great number of horsemen and fotemen."

My Lords, after our right hartie commendacions, understanding what false, untrue, and slaunderous bills, rumors, and reaports be spred in many places, by meanes of the Duke of Somerset and his adherents, of the cause of our assemblee; and being togi-

ther, we have first thought good t'assure your Lordships of our honours, trouth, and fidelities to God and the King's Ma^te^; that we mean nothing ells but the suertie of his Majestie's person, our most gracious Sovereign Lord, the preservacion of his honor, and the good governaunce of his Majestie's realmes and dominions; and, for none other cause, we take God to witnes. If the Duke of Somerset woold at any tyme have hard our advises, if he woold have hard reason, and knowledged himself a subject, our meanings was to have quietly communed with him for redresse of all things without any disturbance of the realm; but knowing afterwards that the said Duke goeth about to reyse great forces and nombers of men, to sprede abrode slaunderous and untrue reaports of us moche contrary to our honors and reputations, we wer forced for the meting therwith, against our wills t'assemble, lyke as it greveth us to see what daunger and perill may ensue to th'ole Realme thorough division amongs ourselfs, we have lykewise thought good to signifie unto you that if the said Duke will, as becometh a good subject absent himself from his Majestie, be contented to be ordred according to Justice and reason, and disperse that force which is levied by him, we will gladly commen with you touching the suertie of his Majestie's person, and order of all other things, wherin we nothing doubt, whatsoever hath byn otherwise untruely reaported, you shall fynde us bothe conformable and

redy to do as becommeth good subjects and true counsellors; nothing doubting to fynd the like conformitie also on your behalfs. Otherwise, if we shall see that you mynd more the mayntenaunce of that one mans ill doings then th'execution of his Majesties Lawes and commen order, we must make other accompt of you then we trust we shall have cause.

Consider, my Lords, for Godd's sake, we hartely pray you, that we be almost the hole Counsell, men that have byn to moche bounden by sundry benefits to forget our duties to the Kings Majestie, for whom we do that we do, and will gladly spend our lyves for his suertie. If you forsake to come to this good and peaxable agrement, we must protest that the inconveniences which may ensue upon stirre must grow of yow, the daunger wherof we assuredly know is to none of yow unknowen. Thus praying God to send us and yow grace to doo thatt may most conduce to his glorie and wealth of the Realme we bydd yow hartely fare well. From London this vijth of October 1549.

Yo^{r} assured loving freends

R. RYCHE *Canc.* W. SAINT JOHN. W. NORTHT.
J. WARWYK. ARUNDELL. F. SHREWESBURY.
THOMAS SOUTHAMPTON.
T. CHEYNE. WILLIAM PETRE. EDWARD NORTH.
JOHN GAGE. R. SADLEYR.
RIC. SOUTHWELL. NICHOLAS WOTTON.

LETTER CLXXIII.

The Lords of the Council in London to those at Windsor, respecting the care of the King's person.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VII. fol. 408. *Orig.*]

My Lords, after our most harty commendacions, we have received your Lettres by M^r^. Hobby, and herd such credence as he declared on the King's Majesties and your behaulf unto us. Th'aunswers whereunto becawse they may at more lenngth appere to You both by our Lettres to the Kings Majestie and by report also of the said M^r^. Hobbye we forbeare to repete here againe, most hartely prayeng and requiring your Lordships and every of you, and nevertheles charging and comaunding you in the Kings Majesties name to have a contynual earnest wache, respect, and care to the suretie of the Kings Majestie our natural and most gracious Soveranne lords persone, and that he be nat removed from his Majesties castel of Wyndesour, as you tender your dueties to Almighty God and his Majestie, and as you will aunswer for the contrary at your uttermost perills. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, nat without grete cawse, and, amongs many others, we can nat but remembre unto you that it appearith very straunge unto us and a grete wonder to all true sub-

jects that you will either assent or suffer his Majesties most royall persone to remaine in the garde of the Duke of Somersetts men, sequestred from his old sworne servaunts. It seemith straunge that in his Majesties owne Howse strangers shuld be armed with his Majestie's owne armour, and be nearest abowte his Highnes persone; and those to whome the ordynary charge is committed, sequestred away so as they may nat attende according to their sworne duetyes. If any evyll come thereof ye can consider to whome it must be imputed. Ones the exemple is very straunge and perillous. And now my Lords, if you tender the preservacion of his Majestie and the State, joyne with us to that ende. We have wrytten to the Kings Majestie by which way things may sone be quyetly and moderatly compounded; in the doing whereof we mynde to doo none otherwise then we would be doon unto, and that with as much moderacion and favour as we honorably maye. We trust none of you hath juste cawse to note any oon of us, and much lesse all of such crueltye as you so many tymes make mention of. Oon thing in youre Lettres we mervayle much at, which is that you write that you knowe more than we knowe. If the matters comen to your knowlege and hidden from us be of such waight as you seme to pretende, or if they towche or may touche his Majestie or the State, we thinke you do not as you ought in that ye have not disclosed the same unto us being the

hole state of the Counsail. And thus prayeng God to sende you the Grace to do that may tende to the surety of the Kings Majestie and tranquillite of the Realme, we bidde you hartely farewell. From Westm. the ixth of Octobre 1549.

Yo^{r} assured loving frends

R. RYCHE *Canc.* W. SEINT JOHN. W. NORTHT.
ARUNDELL. F. SHREWESBURY.
THOMAS SOUTHAMPTON. T. CHEYNE.
JOHN GAGE. WILLIAM PETRE. EDWARD NORTH.
EDWARD MOUNTAGU. R. SADLEYR. NICHOLAS WOTTON.
RIC. SOUTHWELL. JO. BAKER.

LETTER CLXXIV.

Archbishop Cranmer, Sir William Paget, and Sir Thomas Smith to the Lords of the Council in London, offering terms of accommodation.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VII. fol. 412.]

It may lyke your good Lordshyps, with our most harty commendacions, to understand that this mornyng Sir Phillip Hobby hath, according to the charge gyven to hym by your Lordships, presented your Letters to the Kings Majestie in the presence of us and all the rest of his Magisties good servants here, which was

there redde openly; and also the others to them of the chambre and of the household, moche to theyr comforts and ours also; and according to the tenors of the same we will not faile to endevor ourselfs accordingly . . Now tooching the mervaile of your Lordships both of that we wold suffre the Duke of Somersetts men to garde the Kings Majestie's persone and also of our often repeting the worde cruel. . Although we doubt not but that your Lordships hath bene thorowly enformed of our estates here, and upon what occasions the one hath bene suffred, and the other proceded, yet at our convenyng togider (which may be when and where please you) we will and are able to make your Lordships such an Accompt as wherewith we doubt not you wilbe satisfyed if you think good to require it of us. And for bycause this berar Mr Hobby can particulerly enforme your Lordship of the hole discourse of all things here, we remitt the reaport of all other things to hym, saving that we desyre to be advertised with as moch spede as you shall think good, whether the Kings Majestie shall cum furthwith thither, or remayn stil here; and that sum of your Lordships woold take payn to cum hither furthwith; for the which purpose I the comptroller will cause thre of the best chambres in the gret court to be hanged and made redy. Thus thankyng God that all things be so wel acquieted we committ your

Lordships to his tuycion. From Wyndsor the x^th^ of October 1549

Your Lordshyps assured loving frends

T. CANT. WILLIAM PAGET.

T. SMITH.

To our verie good
Lords and others of
the Kings Majesties Privie
Cownsell at London.

LETTER CLXXV.

The Lords of the Council in London, to Sir William Paget, comptroller of the Household respecting the safety of the person of King Edward VI^th^; and urging him to cause the Duke of Somerset to be apprehended.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VII. fol. 410. *Orig.*]

*** It is singular that this Letter should have been addressed to Sir William Paget, who, with Cranmer and Sir Thomas Smith, was supposed most strenuously to have adhered to the Duke of Somerset. But as will be seen in the latter part of this Letter, a message had been delivered by Sir William Paget's servant stating that Somerset might easily be apprehended. The arrest which was directed in consequence was not violently made: for though Somerset and some of his friends and partizans were sent prisoners to the Tower, it was, at least on his part, by capitulation [a].

[a] "Articles offerid by me the Lord Protector to the Kings Majestie, in the presence of his Highnes Counsail, and other his Majesties Lords and Gentlemen at Wyndesor to be declared on my behalf to the Lords and the rest of his Highnes Counsail remayning at London.

"Furst that I do not, nor did not meane to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturbe or molest them, but hering tell of their suche meetings and assembles and gathering of horsemen and other power owt of severall Countreys, not being privie of the causes therof, t'avoid further inconvenyences, and danger which might ensue to your Majesties person, which by many rumors, certain intelligences, and sundrie messages was declared immynent unto your Highnes, and to me the Lorde Protector, was forced to seke this defence as I at the furst beginning declared unto your Highnes.

On the 11th. of October, Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the Guard, was sent to Windsor to the King, to detach the Lord Protector from his person; who caused the guard to watch his Majesty till the coming of the Lords. "On the morrow," says Stow, "the Lord Chancellor, with the rest of the Council rode to Windsor to the King, and that night the Lord Protector was put in ward into Beauchamp's tower in the Castle of Windsor." On the 14th. of October he was brought from Windsor to the Tower of London.

After our most harty commendations, we have hard the Credence declared unto us by Bedill your servant, by the which wee doo well understand your wyse and stowt doings for the suertye of the Kings Majesties person our most gracious Soveraigne Lorde; for whos only suertye and preservation of His Majestie's realme and subjects, lyke as wee have entred thies busines, so do we give you our most harty thanks for your good travayll to the same ende. And ffor the rest wee have declared our mynds att more lenght to our loving freends Mr Vicechamberlayn Knight to

"Secondly, that this force and power which here is assembled abowt your Majestie at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London or else where either in person or goods any damage or hurt, but to defend only if any violence should be attempted against your Highnes. As for any contencion and strief betwixt me the Lorde Protector and the Counsail there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable ende and conclusion that shuld be for the preservacion of your Majestie and tranquillitie of the Realme, if they will send any two of them with Commission on their behalfs to conclude and make a good end betwixt us. And I most humbly beseche your Majestie to appoinct any two of suche as be here about your Majestie to joyne with the same: and whatsoever these fowre, or thre of them, shall determyn, I do and shall holy and fully submit myself therunto. And that for more conformacion, if it shalbe so thought good to the said persones, their agreament and conclusion to be established and ratified by Parlyament or any other order that shalbe devised.

And I beseche your Majestie that at my humble sute and by th'advise of me and others of your Counsail here for the better procedings herin, and to take away all doubts and feares that might arise to grant to them, for any such two of them which they shall send for the purpose abovesaid, fre passage for them selfs and with eche of them xxti of their servants to saufly come, tarry here, and retorn at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseche your Majestie that this Bill signed with your Majestie's hands and owres may be a sufficient warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the Castle of Wyndesore the viijth. of October 1549." MS. Cotton. Calig. B. VII. fol. 407.

whom wee pray you to give ferme credence: and so bydd yow most hartely well to fare. From London this x^th^ of October 1549.

Your assured loving
Freends

R. RYCHE *Canc.* W. SEINT JOHN. W. NORTHT.
J. WARWYK. F. SHREWESBURY.
THOMS SOUTHMPTON. E. WENTWORTH.
JOHN GAGE. WILL'M PETRE.
EDWARD NORTH. EDWARD MOUNTAGU. R. SADLEYR.
NICHOLAS WOTTON.

Wee wold also thatt if yow shall see any good oportunite for this purpose, and if it may be conveniently doon, as by your servant's Message it semed, thatt the bodie of the Duk may be apprehendyd, thatt he shuld be apprehendyd by M^r^ Vicechamberlayn and ther kept in suertye till wee shall take furthar order. We wold also the lyke to be doon with M^r^ Smyth, M^r^ Thyn, Whalley, and Cycill[a].

R. RYCHE *Canc.* W. SEINT JOHN. W. NORTHT.
J. WARWYK. F. SHREWESBURY.
THOMS SOUTHAMPTON. E. WENTWORTH.
WILL'M PETRE. JOHN GAGE.
EDWARD NORTH. EDWARD MOUNTAGU.
R. SADLEYR. RIC. SOUTHWELL. NICHOLAS WOTTON.

To o^r^. very Loving freend S^r^ William Paget
knighte of th'Order, Comptroller of the
Kings Majestie's Most honorable Howse.

[a] Afterwards Lord Burghley.

LETTER CLXXVI.

The Princess Mary to King Edward the Sixth upon receiving the prohibition to use the Mass in her Household.

[MS. HARL. 352. fol. 186.]

*** The following Letter from the Princess Mary to her brother, is preserved upon the Books of the Privy Council. It is probably the best specimen which we have in our power to give of her talent at writing: and, with the singular Paper which follows it by way of comment, will show her to have been a woman of more intellect than the world has usually supposed. Queen Catherine Parr took great pains in the education both of Mary and Elizabeth.

Robert Rochester the comptroller, with M^r^. Walgrave and Sir Francis Englefield two of the officers of the Lady Mary's household, were commanded, August 14^th^. 1551, by the Lords of the King's Council to proceed to Copt Hall in Essex, where she then resided. They were directed to call her Grace's chaplains before them, and not only to forbid, on their part, the saying of the Mass, but to prevent any one of the household from presuming to hear mass or any other forbidden rites. They went, it appears, but neglected to execute the chief part of their commission; bringing back with them the following Letter addressed to the King.

My dutye moste humbly remembred unto your Majestie. It maye please the same to be advertysed that I have by my servantes receaved your moste honorable Letter, the contentes wherof doe not a litle trouble me, and so much the more for that any of my servants should move or attempte me in matteres towching my sowle, which I thinke the meaneste subjecte within your Realme could evell beare at their servantes hande; havinge for my parte utterly refused heretofor to talke with them in such matteres, and of all other persones leaste regarded them therein; to whom I have declared what I thinke as she which trusted that your

Majestie would have suffered me, your poore humble sister and beadeswoman to have used the accustomed Masse, which the Kinge your father and myne with all his predecessores evermore used; wherin also I have been brought upp from my youth, and therunto my conscyence doth not only bynde me, which by noe meanes will suffer me to thinke ope thing and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperore by your Majesties Counsell was an assurance to me that in so doinge I should not offend the Lawes, although they seeme now to qualifye and deny the thing.

And at my laste waytinge upon your Majestie I was so bould to declare my mynd and conscyence to the same, and desired your Highnes, rather then you should constraine me to leave the Masse, to take my life, whereunto your Majestie made me a very gentle answere.

And nowe I beseche your Highnes to give me leave to write what I thinke towching your Majesties Letteres. In deed they be signed with your owne hand, and neverthelesse in my oppinione not your Majesties in effecte, because it is well knowne (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highnes) that althoughe, Our Lorde be praysed, your Majestie hath farre more knowledge and greater guiftes then otheres of your yeares, yett it is not possyble that your Highnes can at theis yeares be a judge in matters of Reli-

geon. And therefore I take it that the matter in your Letter procedeth from such as do wish those thinges to take place, which be moste agreeable to themselves: by whose doinges (your Majestie not offended) I intend not to rule my Conscyence.

And thus, without molestynge your Highnes any further, I humblye beseeche the same ever, for Gods sake, to beare with me as you have done, and not to thinke that by my doinges or ensample any inconvenyence might growe to your Majestie or your Realme; for I use it not after any such soarte; puttyng no doubte but in tyme to come, whether I live or die, your Majestie shall perceave myne intente is grownded upon a true love towardes you, whose royall estate I beseech Almightie God longe to contynewe, which is and shalbe my daylie prayer, accordinge to my dutye.

And after pardon craved of your Majestie for thes rude and boulde Letteres, yf neither at my humble suite, nor for regard of the promisse made to the Emperor, your Highnes will suffer and beare with me, as you have done, tyll your Majestie may be a Judge herein yourselfe, and right understand their proceedinges, (of which your goodness yet I dispaire not,) otherwise, rather then to offend God and my conscyence I offer my bodye at your will, and death shall be more welcome than lyfe with a trowbeled conssyence.

Moste humbly beseching your Majestie to pardon my slowenes in answeringe your Letteres, for my owlde deseasse would not suffer me to write any soner. And thus I praye Almightie God to keepe your Majestie in alle vertue and honor, with good health and longe lyfe to his pleasure. From my poore howse at Copped Hall the xix of Auguste.

Your Majestie's moste
humble sistere
MARY.

On the 23d of August, four days after the receipt of this Letter, the same officers being again directed to execute the charge they had received on the 14th, declined to proceed. Rochester and Walgrave voluntarily offering rather to endure imprisonment; and Sir Francis Engleficld alledging upon his part, that he could find neither in his heart nor his conscience to do it. Whereupon it was determined that the Lord Chancellor Riche, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Sir Anthony Wingfield the comptrollor of the King's household, should repair together to the Lady Mary's Grace, with the King's letters. They did so, and the following was the Report of her Grace's answer.

"A Note of the Report of the Message done to the Lady Mary's Grace by us the Lord Riche Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Anthony Wingfield Knight of the Order and Comptroller of the King's Majesty's most honorable Household, and William Peeter, Knight, one of his Majesty's two principal Secretaries; and of her Grace's Answer to the same; reported by us all three to the King's Majesty and the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council at Windsor, the 29th. day of August Anno 1551.

"First having received Commandment and Instructions from the King's Majesty we repaired to the said Lady Mary's House at Copped Hall in Essex on Friday last, being the 28th. of this instant in the Morning, where, shortly after our coming, I the Lord Chancellor delivered his Majesty's Letters to her, which she received upon her knees, saying that for the honor of the King's Majesty's hand, wherewith the said Letters were signed, she would kiss the Letter; and not for the matter contained in them, for the matter, said she, I take to proceed not from his Majesty but from you his Council.

" In the reading of the Letter, which she did read secretly to her self, she said these words in our hearing, 'Ah! good M^r. Cecil took much pains here.'

" When she had read the Letter, we began to open the matter of our Instructions unto her, and as I the Lord Chancellor began, she prayed me to be short, for, said she, I am not well at ease, and I will make you a short answer, notwithstanding that I have already declared and written my mind to his Majesty plainly with my own hand.

" After this we told her at good length how the King's Majesty having used all the gentle means and exhortations that he might to have reduced her to the Rites of Religion and Order of Divine service set forth by the laws of the realm, and finding her nothing conformable, but still remaining in her former error, had resolved by the whole estate of his Majesty's Privy Council, and with the consent of divers others of the Nobility, that she should no longer use the private Mass, nor any other divine Service than is set forth by the Laws of the Realm; and here we offered to show her the Names of all those which were present at this consultation and resolution; but she said she cared not for any rehearsal of their names, for, said she, I know you be all of one sort therein.

" We told her further that the King's Majesty's pleasure was we should also give strait charge to her Chaplains, that none of them should presume to say any Mass, or other divine service than is set forth by the Laws of the Realm, and like charge to all her servants that none of them shulde presume to hear any Mass or other divine service than is aforesaid. Hereunto her answer was thus. First she protested that to the King's Majesty she was, is, and ever will be his Majesty's most humble and most obedient subject and poor Sister, and would most willingly obey all his commandments in any thing (her conscience saved,) yea and would willingly and gladly suffer death to do his Majesty good; but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late King her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death. But, said she, I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. When the King's Majesty (said she) shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion, but now in these years, although he good sweet King have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet is it not possible that he can be a judge of these things; for if ships were to be sent to the seas, or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the Realm, I am sure you would not think his Highness yet able to consider what were to be done, and much less, said she, can he in these years discern what is fit in matters of divinity. And if my Chaplains do say no Mass I can hear none, no more can my poor servants. But as for my servants I know it shall be against their wills, as it shall be against myne, for if they could come

where it were said they would hear it with good will, and as for my priests they know what they have to do, the pain of your Laws is but imprisonment for a short time, and if they will refuse to say Mass for fear of that imprisonment they may do therein as they will; but non of your newe service, said she, shall be used in my House, and if any be said in it, I will not tarry in the house.

" And after this we declared unto her Grace, according to our Instructions, for what causes the Lords of the King's Majesty's Council had appointed Rochester, Inglefeild, and Walgrave, being her servants to open the premisses unto her, and how ill and untruly they had used themselves in the charge committed unto them, and, besides that, how they had manifestly disobeyed the King's Majesty's Council, &c. To this she said it was not the wisest council to appoint her servants to control her in her own house, and that her servants knew her mind therein well enough, for of all men she might worst endure any of them to move her in any such matters; and for their punishment, my Lords may use them as they think good, and if they refused to do the message unto her and her chaplains and servants as aforesaid, they be, said she, the honester men, for they should have spoke against their own consciences.

"After this when we had at good length declared unto her the effect of our Instructions touching the promise which she claimed to have been made to the Emperor, and besides had opened unto her at good length all such things as we knew and had heard therein; her answer was that she was well assured the promise was made to the Emperor, and that the same was once granted before the King's Majesty in her presence, then being there seven of the Council, notwithstanding the denial thereof at my last being with his Majesty; and I have, quoth she, the Emperor's hand testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than you all of the Council. And though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you, almost of nothing. But as for the Emperor, said she, if he were dead I would say as I do. And if he would give me now other advice I would not follow it, notwithstanding, quoth she, to be plain with you, his Ambassador shall know how I am used at your hands.

" After this we opened the King's Majesty's pleasure, for one to attend upon her Grace for the supply of Rochester's place, during his absence, &c. as in the Instructions. To this her answer was that she would appoint her own officers, and that she had years sufficient for that purpose; and if we left any such man there she would go out of her gates, for they two would not dwell in one house. And, quoth she, I am sickly, and yet I will not die willingly, but will do the best I can to preserve my life; but if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly that you of the Council be the causes of my death: you give me fair words but your deeds be always ill

towards me. And having said thus, she departed from us into her bedchamber, and delivered to me the Lord Chancellor a RING, upon her knees, most humbly, with very humble recommendations, saying that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey his Commandments in all things except in these matters of Religion, touching the Mass and the new service. But yet, said she, this shall never be told to the King's Majesty, &c.

"After her departure we called the Chaplains and the rest of her Household before us, giving them strait commandment, upon pain of their allegiance, that neither the priests should from henceforth say any Mass, or other divine service than that which is set forth by the Laws of the Realm, nor that they the residue of the servants should presume to hear any.

"The Chaplains, after some take, promised all to obey the King's Majesty's commandment signified by us.

"We gave like commandment to them and every of them, upon their allegiance, to give notice to some one of the Council, at the least, if any mass or other divine service than that which is set forth by the Laws of this Realm, should be hereafter said in that House.

"Finally when we had said and done as is aforesaid, and were gone out of the house, tarrying there for one of her Chaplains, who was not with the rest when we gave the charge aforesaid unto them, the Lady Mary's Grace sent to us to speak with her one word at a window. When we were come into the Court, notwithstanding that we offered to come up to her chamber, she would needs speak out of the window, and prayed us to speak to the Lords of the Council that her comptroller might shortly return. For, said she, since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expences, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat: and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing. And, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and therefore if my Lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure; otherwise if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will, and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies[a]."

COPPED, or COPT-HALL, in Essex, whence the preceding Letter is dated, had been a country seat belonging to the abbats of Waltham. The dissolution of the Abbey vested it in the Crown; and it seems for a while to have been assigned as a residence for the Princess Mary. Queen Elizabeth granted it in the 6th. year of her reign to Sir Thomas Heneage, the captain of her guard. The old House was taken down in 1753; and a new one built at a small distance from it by Mr. Conyers the then possessor.

[a] Acts of Privy Council. MS. Harl. ut supr.

LETTER CLXXVII.

The Lady Jane Gray, as Queen, to the Marquis of Northampton, Lieutenant of the County of Surrey.

[FROM THE MUNIMENTS AT LOSELEY HOUSE. *Orig.*]

*** This and the succeeding Letter, are two of those which the Lady Jane Gray, under the direction of the Duke of Suffolk and the Dudleys, addressed, at the time of her accession, to the Lieutenants of different Counties. A similar Letter in effect to the first of these, also directed to the Marquis of Northampton as Lieutenant of the Counties of Surrey, Northampton, Bedford, and Berks, is preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum[a].

The second of these Letters shows how faint was the support which the Lady Jane's title met with from the beginning, and how anxious her partizans were to acquire strength.

JANE GRAY was the eldest daughter of Henry duke of Suffolk, by FRANCES daughter to Mary, second sister of King Henry the Eighth; which *Frances* in King Henry the Eighth's will, was placed next in succession after the *Princess* Elizabeth, to the exclusion of the Scottish line, the offspring of his eldest sister. The Lady Jane was married in the month of May 1553 to Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland; the duke, from views of personal aggrandisement forcing the Throne, against her will, upon his daughter in law.

King Edward the Sixth died July 6th. 1553; four days after which the Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen. On the 14th. the Duke of Northumberland left London to command the army against the Lady Mary. On the 19th. the Council declared against the Lady Jane. On the 21st. Northumberland was arrested. On the 3d. of August MARY, with her sister ELIZABETH, came to London: and on the 22d of August Northumberland was beheaded.

The Lady Jane and the Lord Guilford Dudley, though sentenced, still remained in prison. They were not executed till February 12th. 1554. The Duke of Suffolk fell upon the scaffold Feb. 15th.

JANE THE QUENE.

RIGHT trustie and right welbeloved Cousen, we grete you well, advertising the same that where yt

[a] MS. Lansd. Brit. Mus. 1236. fol. 24.

hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercie out of this lief our derest Cousen the King your late Sovereigne Lorde, by reason wherof ande suche Ordenances as the said late King did establishe in his lief tyme for the securitie and welthe of this Realme, we are entrerid into our rightfull possession of this Kingdome, as by the last Will of our said derest Cousen, our late progenitor, and other severall instruments to that effect signed with his own hande and sealed with the grete Seale of this Realme in his own presence, wherunto the Nobles of this realme for the most parte and all our Counsaill and Judges, with the Mayor and Aldermen of our Cytie of London, and dyvers other grave personages of this our Realme of England, have also subscribed there names, as by the same Will and Instrument it maye more evidently and plainly apere; We therfore doo You to understand, that by th'ordenance and sufferaunce of the hevenly Lord and King, and by th'assent and consent of our said Nobles and Counsellors, and others before specifyed, We doo this daye make our enterye into our Towre of London as rightfull Quene of this realme; and have accordingly sett furthe our proclamacions to all our loving subjects gyvenge them therby to understande their duties and allegeaunce which they now of right owe unto us as more amplie by the same you shall briefly perceyve and understand; nothing doubting, right trustie and right welbeloued cosen, but that you will

indever yourself in all things to the uttermost of your powre, not only to defend our just title, but also assist us in our rightfull possession of this kingdome, and to disturbe, repell, and resist the fayned and untrue clayme of the Lady Mary basterd daughter to our grete uncle Henry the Eight of famous memory[a]; wherein as you shall doo that which to youre honor, truthe, and dutie aperteyneth, so shall we remembre the same unto you and yours accordingly. And our further pleasure is that you shall contynue, doo, and execute every thinge and thing as our Lieutenant within all places, according to the tenor of the Commission addressed unto you from our late Cousen King Edward the vj^th^ in such and like sorte as if the same hadd byn, as we mynde shortely it shal be, renued, and by us confirmed under our grete Seale unto you. Yeven under our Signet at our Tower of London the xj^th^ of July, the furst yere of our Reign.

To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousyn and Counsaillor the Marquiss of Northampton our Lieutenant generall of our County of Surrey and to our trusty and welbeloved the Deputes of that Lieutenancy, and the Sheriff, the chief Justices of Peace and the worshipfull of that Shire.

[a] This was in allusion to the Act of Parliament which Henry the Eighth had passed in the 28th. year of his reign, declaring the issue of his two first marriages illegitimate. See the Stat. of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 658.

LETTER CLXXVIII.

Second Letter from the Lady Jane as Queen to the Lieutenancy of Surrey[a].

[FROM THE MUNIMENTS AT LOSELEY HOUSE. *Orig.*]

JANE THE QUENE. By the Quene.

TRUSTIE and wilbiloved we grete you well. Albeit that our estate in this imperiall Crowne wherof we be actually and really possessed, as partely may appere by our Proclamacion wherin our tytle is published, is not ne can be in any wise doubtfull to all suche our good faithfull subjects as, setting blynd affection apart, do with reason and wysdom consider the very foundacion and grounde of our tytle, with the grete commodities therby coming thorough Gods providence to the preservacion of our Comon Weale and polycie; yet for that we undrestande the Ladye Marye dothe not cease by Lettres in hir name, provoked therto by hir adherents, enemyes of this realme, to publishe and notiefie sklanderously to dyverse of our subjects matter derogatorye to our title and dignitie royall, withe the slandre of certen of our Nobilitie and Counsell, We have thought mete to admonishe and exhorte You, as our true and faithfull subjects, to remayne fast in your obeysaunce and duetie to the imperiall Crowne of this Realme, whereof we have justely the possession; and not to be removed any wise from your duetie by

[a] The Seal used for this Letter was the signet of King Edward the Sixth. The Arms of France and England quarterly, crowned; with the Letters E. R. at the sides.

sklanderous reports or lettres, dispersed abrode either by the said Lady Marye, or by hir adherence; for truelye like as the Nobilitie of our Realme, our Counsell, oure Prelats, oure Judges, and lerned men, and others good wise men, godly and naturall subjects, do remayne fast and surelye in their Allegiance towards us, redy to adventure their lives, landes, and goodes for our defence, so can a greate numbre of the same Nobilitie, Counsailors, and Judges truely testifye to all the worlde, with savetye of their conscience, howe carefully and ernestly the late King of famous memorye our dere Cousen King Edward the Sixt from tyme to tyme mentioned and provoked them partelye by perswasion, partely commandements, to have suche respecte to his succession if God shuld call him to his mercye without issue, as might be the preservacion of the Crowne in the hole undefyled English bloud; and therfore of his owne mere motion, both by graunt of his Lettres patents, and by declaration of his Will, established the succession as it is declared by our Proclamacion. And for the testimonye herof to the satisfaction of suche as shall conceyve any doubt herin, We understand that certen of our Nobilitie have written at this present, in some parte to admonishe You of your duties, and to testifie their knowledge of the truethe of our tytle and right. Wherfore we leave to procede further therin, being assured in the goodnes of God that your harts shalbe confirmed to owe your duetye to us your soveraigne Lady, who

meane to preserve this Crowne of England in the royall blound, and out of the [a] of straungers and papists, with the defence of all you our good subjects, your lieves, lands, and goods, in our peace agaynst the invasions and violence of all forein or inward enemies and rebells. Yeven under our Signet at our Tower of London the xvj[th] day of July, in the first yere of our reigne.

To our Trustie and welbeloved the Shirieff, Justices of Peace, and other Gentilmen of our Countie of Surrey, and to every of them.

Among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum is a small Manual of Devotions in English, which if not written for, was at least in the possession of the Lady Jane Gray, while prisoner in the Tower. It contains three Notes, or short Epistles, in the lower margins of different pages. One, a wish of long life to his father from the Lord Guilford Dudley, signed with his name. The other two from the Lady Jane Gray, signed Jane Duddeley: one addressed to Sir John Gage the lieutenant of the Tower, exhorting him to a religious life; the other to her father the Duke of Suffolk, assuring him that as she honoured him in this life she will pray for him in another [b].

LETTER CLXXIX.

John Hopton Bishop of Norwich to Lord Sussex.

[ms. cotton. titus b. ii. fol. 160. *Orig.*]

*** The principal fact mentioned in this Letter will be best illustrated by a short extract from Grafton's Chronicle, under the year 1555.

[a] This space is left in the original. Edit.

[b] See MS. Harl. 2342.

"In the month of March next following, there was in maner none other talk but of the great preparation that was made for the Queen's lying in childbed, who had already taken up her chamber, and sundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about her in every office of the Court. In so moche that all the Court was full of Midwives, Nurses, and Rockers, and this talk continued almost half a year, and was affirmed true by some of her Physicians, and other persons about her, which seemed both grave and credible. Insomuch that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And moreover commandment given in all Churches for procession with supplications and prayers to be made to almighty God for her safe delivery, yea and divers prayers were specially made for that purpose. And the said rumor continued so long, that at the last report was made that she was delivered of a Prince, and for joy thereof bells were rung, and bonfires made, not only in the City of London, but also in sundry places of the realm. But in the end, all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectation of the people utterly frustrate. For shortly it was fully certified (allmost to all men) that the Queen was as then, neither delivered of child, nor after was in hope to have any. Of this the people spake diversely. Some said that the rumor of the Queen's conception was spread for a policy. Some affirmed that she was with child, but it miscarried. Some other said that she was deceived by a tympany or other like disease, whereby she thought she was with child and was not. But what the truth was I refer the report thereof to other that knoweth more" [a].

Dispatches announcing this pregnancy were even sent to foreign courts. Fox and Holinshed have further details on this subject, together with three Forms of Prayer which were ordered to be used; one of them that the Infant might be "a male child, well favoured, and wittie."

Ryghte honorable and my singuler good Lorde after myne humble commendacions wyth lyke thankes for your honorable and gentle Lettres send to me towchyng the behavior of the Curate of olde Bokenham, and the reformacion of other enormytyes there. It may plese you t'undrestond that I dyd sende ymedyatlie for the sayd Curate, the churche wardeyns, and the questmen there, and uppon their apperaunce,

[a] Graft. Chronf. edit. 1569. p. 1350.

wyth xij. or xiiij. of the moost substancyall men of the parryshe, and upon due examynacion I coude perceyve noon other thyng, but all thynges to be well and decently ordered and provyded for at thys hooly tyme of Eastre, contrary to the informacion gyven to your good Lordshyppe. And yf there had been any thing amys they shulde have been punyshed according to their demerytes. Beseching your good Lordshippe yf any further knowledge coome to you ayther for that towne or any other concerning the reformacion of my Jurisdiction, or the negligence of myne offycers, that I may be advertysed therof, and have your favorable ayde and assistance, and I shall doo the best I can for my dyscharge.

And where yt pleased your honorable Lordshipe to wyll me to take a dynner or a supper with you in the tyme of my Vysytacion, I humblie thank you therfor, moost hartelye beseching your Lordshipe whan occacion shall serve you to vysyte thys Cytye, that ye wyll vouchsave to take thys my poore House at your commaundment, wherunto your Lordshipe shalbe as wellcoome as to your owne.

Further I undrestond that M^r^ Mayre here hathe certyfyed your Lordshipe of the sodeine good newes, brought to us by one of the Citye, of the Quenes Highnes moost joyfull deliverance of a nooble Prince: whereupon to laude God, *Te Deum* was solemplye songen in the Cathedrall Churche and other places of the Cytye

wyth woonderfull joye and muche gladnes of all people thoroughe owte all th'ooll Cytye and the Countrye thereabowtes. And yf ye have any further knowledge therof I beseche your honorable lordshipe that I maye be partaker of the same by this bringer my servante whome I sende purposelye therfor. As knoweth th'oly Goost who preserve Your Lordshipe in contynnuall helthe and honor. At Norwich the thred of May 1555.

Your L. assuredlie

JOHN NORWYCHE.

Post scripta. I receyved evon nowe knowledge from a freende of myn of ij. wyttenes more of the goode and joyfull newes above wrytten, as this sayde brynger can declare to your goode Lordeshyppe.

JOHN NORWYCH.

The delusion of the Queen having been delivered of a Prince, was not confined to Norwich. Fox says, "the parson of Saint Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen." The rejoicings extended even to Antwerp.

LETTER CLXXX.

Cardinal Pole to Sir Edward Hastings. A. D. 1555.

[MS. HARL. 7041. p. 169. *Orig.*]

*** The following Letter is given merely as a specimen of Cardinal Pole's English style; who usually wrote either in Latin or Italian. He

was the son of Margaret Countess of Salisbury the daughter of George Duke of Clarence, by Sir Richard Pole, and was born May 11th. A.D. 1500: he was made a Cardinal in 1536: and was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury March 22d. 1556. He died in 1558.

MYNE OWNE GOOD COSEN

After my most hartye commendations, thys shalbe to give you to understand how gladly I received your Letters written of your own hand, which I noe sooner sawe, but I toke them for a sure testimony of that I have long desired to hear of, your perfect recovery of helth. Howbeit they do not testifie so far, but that you be much better then you have been, which God increase; so that your frends may enjoye you abrode, as I trust they shall, the hotter time of summer now approaching, which season is best remedy for such diseases. And of this God send us perfectly to have experience from you.

Myn helth, thanked to God, is such that I desire no better; wherof I am the more jelose now then I am commonly at other tymes, for that I am here with my flock, amongst whom it woud greve me to be syke. But thanked to God I have yet no cause to feare, and like state I do wysh to you; which God send you shortly. And thus fare yow well. I am, dere Cosen

Your assured loving Cosin

Written at Canterbury 26. April. R. CARLE CANT.

To my derely beloved Cosyn Sir Edward Hastings Knyght, Master of the Queens Highnesse horses.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Few Letters of high interest are extant, written in the first years of the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Subsequently, however, the Letters illustrative of public events are abundantly numerous; and upon none in more extensive detail than upon the misfortunes, the excesses, the persecutions, the flight, the captivity, and the unjustifiable death of Mary Queen of Scots.

So much has been already done to illustrate the romantic history of this unhappy woman, that no large assemblage of new Letters relating to her will be expected here. One or two from the English ambassador in Scotland; the Queen of Scots own Letter to Queen Elizabeth upon her landing, which we shall give both in the original French, and in English; her Letter to Sir Francis Knollys containing her first attempt to write in English; two or three from those to whose care she was intrusted in confinement; and one or two more relating to her trial and the judgement which followed, are all we shall produce. Connected with the last mentioned of these Letters, is the FAC SIMILE which forms the frontispiece to the present Volume; affording a rude but accurate Plan *of the* Trial *at* Fotheringay, drawn upon the spot with a pen, by the hand of the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

Of the other Letters which illustrate the Reign of Elizabeth, the subjects will be found extremely various. A few exhibit traits of the Queen's personal character; among which her Letter written at midnight to stop the Duke of Norfolk's execution on the morrow, and that which, by her command, detailed to the Earl of Essex her reception of the Polish ambassador, are perhaps the most striking. There are a few also, which, in a remarkable manner, illustrate the feelings of those who received visits from her in her Progresses: several which throw material light upon the state of the Police, especially of the metropolis: and some which illustrate the manners of private life.

In the reign of Elizabeth a general change in epistolary style is perceptible. The taste which had been diffused by the cultivation of Greek and Roman learning extended itself even to private correspondence, and people of education wrote with a propriety of style approaching to the best models of that, if not of the present day.

LETTER CLXXXI.

Edwin Bishop of Worcester to Sir William Cecil afterwards Lord Burghley: with a New-Year's Gift.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 6. ART. 88. *Orig.*]

*** Edwin Sandys, the writer of this Letter, was consecrated bishop of Worcester December the 21st. 1559. He had been previously one of the supporters of the Lady Jane Gray, in whose cause he was imprisoned both in the Tower of London and the Marshalsea. He was afterwards an exile in Germany; but returned to London on the very day that Queen Elizabeth was crowned. He succeeded Grindall in the see of London in 1570; and again, in 1576, in the archbishoprick of York. He died August 8th. 1588.

WHAT way I may declare any part of my bounden deutie towardes youe, for the manifold benefitts received, certanlie I wote not. For as ye have bene the meane to bringe me into the place of honestie, so have ye bene the chefe worker to preserve my honestie from malice whiche mynded to impeache yt. Which benefitt of all others I esteame the most, and can no otherwise recompense but onlie by bearing of good will, which when seasonable tymes will make bud forth and yelde fruyt, ye may of right clame the same as your owne. Suche ys the barrennes of this Contrie that yt bringith nothing forth fitt to remember youe withall, and therfor I am bold to present youe with an olde Clock, in the stead of a Newyears gift, which I trust ye will the rather accept because yt was your olde masters of happy memorie KING ED-

WARD's, and afterwards your lovinge and learned brothers Mr. Cheekes; and, synce, hys who thinkith himself in many respectes most bounden unto youe, whois prayer ye shall ever have, whois service ye may ever use: as knowith the Almightie, who grant youe many happie yeares with much increase in the knowledge of Christ, unto whois mercifull governance I commend youe. From my howse att Hartilbury this 28th of December 1563.

Yours in Christe most bounde

ED: WIGORN.

To the right honorable Sir
Willm Cecill knight, principall
Secretarie unto the Quenes Matie
give this.

LETTER CLXXXII.

Henry Lord Berkeley to the Earl of Sussex.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B. II. fol. 349. *Orig.*]

*** Henry Lord Berkeley, the writer of this Letter, came to his title in 1534; having been born nine weeks and four days after the death of his father. His sister, alluded to in it, was Elizabeth the wife of Thomas Boteler Earl of Ormond. Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, to whom it is addressed, was the Lord Deputy of Ireland.

RIGHT honorable and my very good Lorde, whereas I am informed by suche as of late are come owte of

Irelande that my Ladye Woormonde my sister is not so well used by my Lorde her husbande as I would wishe her to be: and nature movinge me to learne further of the truthe herein, I am so bolde at this presente (hearinge of your Lordshipps late arrivall owt of those partes) to desire your Lordship that yt maye please you by your Lettres to signifye unto me whether you understande there be anye suche mislikinge betwene them or not, and the causes thereof, to the ende I maye travell therein accordinglie. Trustinge also that yf she be not well dealte withall and used as she ought to be, that then your Lordshippe will make reaporte of the same to suche of the Councell as maye healpe to redresse the matter, and my suite to be made for her the better furthered. And in so doinge I must neades acknowledge myselfe bothe very moche beholden unto your good Lordshippe, and She also, for her parte, moste bounden contynuallye to pray to the Almightie for the preservation of your Lordship with the encreace of muche honoure. From my Castell of Berkeley, the xxvjth of Maye, 1564.

Your Lordshipps assured

HENRY BERKELEY.

To the Right honorable and
my very good Lorde the
Earle of Sussex, yeve these.

LETTER CLXXXIII.

Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecill, upon the publication of the Banns, previous to the marriage of Queen Mary with Lord Darnley.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. IX. fol. 228. *Orig.*]

*** Chalmers, in his Life of Mary Queen of Scots, 8^vo^. edit. 1822. vol. i. p. 225, from the Edinburgh Magazine of October 1817, says, "In the Buick of the Kirk of Canagait, 'The 21^st^ July, A.D. 1565: the which day Johne Brand, mynister, presented to the Kirk ane writing, written be the justice clerks hand; desyring the Kirk of the Canagait, and mynister thereof, to proclaime Harie Duk of Albayne Erle of Roise on the one parte, and Marie be the grace of God, Quene of Scottis, soverane, on the other part: the which the Kirk ordainis the mynister to do, with invocation of the name of God.'" But from the following Letter of Thomas Randolph, the English agent in Scotland, it appears that the banns were really published with the Queen's name first. They were probably announced a second time in the Church of Canagait: but the third publication, as will be seen in the succeeding Letter, was in the Chapel of Holyrood House, immediately before the celebration of the Marriage. The same process was resorted to in 1567, when Mary gave her hand to Lord Bothwell: but the publication was refused by one Craig, a minister of Edinburgh, who was applied to upon the occasion; and who afterwards justified himself for the same before the Privy Council.

YOUR H. desyerethe from tyme to tyme to here of our doyngs here, and, as the worlde framethe amongeste us, presentlye I perceave that I shall lacke no matter to wryte of. Yester daye, beinge Sondaye, the Banes of Matrimonie were askede in S^t^ Giles Churche betwene thys Quene and the Lord Darlye[a] in that sorte as I sente your H. a byllet in wrytinge, saving that She was fyrste named. After dyner, with all the solemnities requisite, he was created Duke of

[a] Henry Lord Darnley.

Albanie, so that upon Sondaye nexte withowte all dowte the mariage goethe forwarde, but yet uncertayne whether yt shalbe in the Churche whear the Banes were asked, in the Abbie Churche, or in her owne Chappell[a].

Her force remaynethe contynnuallye with herr, and proclamation made thys daye that no man upon payne of deathe shall departe owte of the towne for x. dayes.

The daye of Lawe agaynste the iiij Bourgois men of thys towne is lyke to holde, for anye thynge that she cane be perswaded to the contrarie. Yf so be that theie do compere, the protestants have bounde them selves to assyste them with all the force that theie are hable to mayke. The daye is upon Thurseday nexte. Thys Counsell is nowe augmented by one copple mo then were before of worthye Counsellors, that upon Saterdaye with no smale force came to thys towne, the Earle Athall and L. Ruthen. So are ther nowe present the L. Chauncelor, L. Athall, L. Ersken, L. Ruthen, and the Secretarie; some other are admitted to stonde by, of the noble men that are here present. My Lord of Murraye hathe playnelye refused to come amonge their hands whome he hathe so good occasion to suspecte, and therfore yt was yesterdaye in consultation whether yt were beste to have hym proclamed rebell thys daye or not; whear unto some among the Lords dyscented. I knowe not yet what

[a] They were actually married in the Chapel of Holirood House.

will become of yt, nor who their were that dyscented.

I here saye that the Quene will thys daye despache a man, I know not yet whome, towards the Quene's Ma^tie, I thynke some Frenche man, bycause of the Emb. from whome she hathe all her intelligens. Ther is one Lassells that dwellethe bysyds Toplyf, a cunnynge dealer betwene thys Countrye and that. Maye yt please her Ma^tie that I may knowe her pleasure for suche Englisshemen as are here, or others that come. Moste humblye I tayke my leave. At Edenbourge the xxiiij^th of Julye, 1565.

Yo^r H. allwayes at commaund

THO. RANDOLPHE.

To the right honorable S^r. William Scicill knight principall Secretorie to the Q. Ma^tie.

LETTER CLXXXIV.

Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, from Edinburgh July 31st 1565; giving an Account of the Marriage of the Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. IX. fol. 218. *Orig.*]

* * * * * * * *

I DOWTE not but your H. hathe hearde by such information as I have geven from hence, what the pre-

sent state of this Countrie is; howe thys Quene is nowe become a mariid wyfe, and her howsbande, the self same daye of his marriage, made a Kinge.

* * * * * * * *

" Theie wer maried with all the solemnities of the popyshe tyme, savinge that he hard not the masse; his speach and tawlke arguethe his mynde and yet wulde he fayne seem to the worlde that he were of some Religion. His words to all men agaynste whom he conceaveth anye dyspleasure, howe unjuste soever yt be, so prowde and spytefull, that rather he seemethe a monarche of the worlde, then he that not long since we have seen and knowne the Lord Darlye. He lookethe nowe for reverence of maynie that have lytle will to gyve it hym, and some ther are that do gyve yt that thynke hym lyttle worthye of yt. All honor that maye be attributed unto anye man by a wyf, he hathe yt whollye and fullye; all prayse that maye be spoken of hym he lackethe not from her self; all dignities that she cane indue hym with, are all reddie given and graunted. No man pleasethe her that contentethe not hym. And what may I saye more, she hath geven over unto hym her whole wyll, to be ruled and guyded as hymself beste lykethe. She cane as myche prevaile with hym in any thynge that is agaynste hys wyll, as your Lordship maye with me, to perswade that I sholde hange myself. Thys laste dignetie, owte of hande to have byne proclamed Kinge, she wolde have had yt

dyfferred untyll yt were agreed by Parlemente, or had byne hym self of xxj. yeres of age, that thyngs done in hys name myght have the better autoritie. He wolde in no case have yt dyfferred one daye; and ether then or never. Whearupon thys dowte is rysen amongeste our men of lawe, whether she beinge clade with a howsbonde, and her howsbonde not xxj. yeres, anye thynge withowte Parlement cane be of strengethe that is done betwene them. Upon Saterdaye at after none these matters were longe in debatinge, and before theie were well resolved upon, at ix. howers at night, by iij. herauldes at sonde of the trompet, he was proclamed Kinge; thys was the night before the mariage. This daye, Mondaye, at xij. of the clocke, the Lords, all that were in thys towne, ware present at the proclaminge of hym agayne; when no man saide so myche as Amen, savinge hys father, that cried owte alowde "God save his Grace."

The maner of the Mariage was in this sorte. Upon Sondaye in the morninge betwene v and vj. she was convoide by divers of her nobles to the Chappell. She had upon her backe the greate mürning gown of blacke, with the greate wyde murning hoode, not unlyke unto that which she woore the deulfull daye of the buriall of her howsbande. She was leade unto the Chappell by the Earles Lenox and Athall, and ther was she lefte untyll her howsbonde came, who also was convoide by the same Lords. The ministors,

prests, ij. deep, ther receave them. The banes are asked the thyrde tyme, and an Instrument taken by a Notarie that no man saide agaynste them, or alleged anye cawse whye the mariage myght not proced. The words were spoken. The rings which were iij, the middle a riche diamonde, were put upon her fynger. Theie kneele togyther, and maynie prayers saide over them. She tarriethe owte the masse; and he takethe a kysse and leavethe her ther, and wente to her chamber: whether within a space she followethe, and ther beinge requered accordinge to the solemnitie to off her care, and leave asyde those sorrowfull garments, and geve herself to ane pleasanter lyf, after some prettie refusall, more I beleve for maner sake than greef of harte, she suffrethe them that stoode by, everie man that coulde approve [a], to tayke owte a pyne, and so beinge commytted unto her Ladies, changed her garments; but went not to bedde; to signifie unto the worlde that yt was no luste moved them to marrie, but onlye the necessitie of her Countrie, not, yf God wylle, longe to leave yt destitute of an heire. Suspicious men, or suche as are geven of all thyngs to mayke the worst, wolde that yt sholde be beleved that they knewe eache other before that theie came ther. I wolde not your Lordship sholde so beleve, the lykelyhoods are so great to the contrarie that yf yt were possible to se suche an Acte done, I wolde not beleve yt. After the

[a] "approvers" was the term for friends and followers.

marriage followethe commenlye cheare and dancinge. To their dynner theie were convaide by the whole nobilitie. The trompetts sonde, a larges cried, and monie throwne abowte the howse in great abundance to suche as were happie to gette anye parte. Theie dyne bothe at ane table upon the upper hande. Ther serve her these Earles, Athall shower[a], Morton carvar, Crayforde[b] cupbearer. These serve hym in lyke offices, Earles Eglen[c], Cassels, and Glancarn. After dynner theie dance awhyle and retir them selves tyll the hower of supper, and as theie dyned so do they suppe: some dauncinge ther was and so theie goe to bedde.

* * * * * *

In a postscript is added:

Two things I had all moste forgotten: th'one was, to honor the feaste the L. Harsken[d] was made Earle of Marre, and maynie made knightes that never showde anye greate token of their vasellage. Th'other is that the L. S[t]. John had his office of chef Chamberlayne taken from hym, and was geven to the L. Flemenge nowe in principal credit with the newe Kynge.

[a] sewer. [b] Crawford. [c] Elgin. [d] Erskine.

LETTER CLXXXV.

Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil: various Intelligence.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. IX. fol. 232. *Orig.*]

MAYE yt please yo^{r} H. I have receaved the Quene's M^{ts}. lettre of the seconde of this instant, and therby understonde her Mat^{s} mynde touchynge the Commissioners appoynted by this Quene according to her Mat^{s} will. I have spoken agayne with this Quene that some other noble man of lyke qualitie myghte be appoynted in my Lord Bothewell place, whearunto her Grace hathe not yet accorded, but hathe promised to conferr with her Counsell ther in, and to gyve me a resolute answer therof within iij. or iiij. dayes, w^{ch} tyme I do attende, and in the meane season wolde not that yo^{r} H. sholde thynke longe for my lettres; for with more expedition I cane not bringe these matters to that passe that is to be desyered. I thoughte good also t'advertyse yo^{r} H. that this daye Roberte Melvin is despached from hens towards the Quene's Ma^{tie} from the Quene. His cheif Commission is to see what the Quene's Ma^{tie} will do for this Quene towards the succession in favour of my Lord of Murraye and his complices. He muste also sue for my Ladie Lenox deliverie, and other wyse see what freindshipe he cane mayke amonge such as are well wyllinge towards her

and howsbonde, that none be preferred to them in their pretended righte. The beste couller that he cane use is to be suter for the Lord, and in the meane season maye deale with other as he cane fynde occasion. Yt is thought that anye thynge that this Quene cane desyer wilbe the easlyer accordyd for the greate number of her favorers in the Quenes Ma^{ts} reaulme. I shall not neade nor wyll not be so bolde as t'advise you to stonde harde to yo^{r} centere, but I assure you I see this parte of the circumference shrewedlye inclined, and to beare a greate swaye to yo^{r} hurte, yf yt be not looked unto. Yt hathe byne openlye saide by this Quene that she wyll have the Masse free for all men that wyll here yt. Her howsbonde, his father, Lord Athall, and other, nowe daylye resorte to yt. The Protestants in suche feare and dowte of them selves that theie knowe not what shall become of them. The wyseste so mychе meslyke this state and goverment, that, theie desyer nothynge more then the retorne of the Lords, ether to be receaved in their owne rowmes or ons agayne to put all in hazarde.

Yesterdaye the Lord Darlye receaved the Order. The Emb. bothe dyned and supped with hym. This daye he dynethe with the Quene; tomorrowe with the Counsell; upon Wensedaye in the Castle; and Thursedaye departethe. The Solemnitie was greate, the moste parte of the nobilitie present. Ther went with hym to the masse, his father, Earles Athall and

Cassels, and Lord Seton. Thus myche I thought good to wryte unto Your H. attendinge suche answer as I shall gette touchynge the Commissioners. Moste humblye I tayke my leave. At Edenb. the xth. of Februarie 1565.

Yo^{r} h. bounden at
commande
THO. RANDOLPHE.

To the righte honorable
S^{r}. William Cecill Knighte
Principall Secretarie to
the Quenes Ma^{tie}.

LETTER CLXXXVI.

The Earl of Bedford and M^{r}. Thomas Randolph to the Privy Council of England, giving an Account of the murder of David Rizzio.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. X. fol. 373. *Orig.*]

*** The murder of Rizzio was one of the most extraordinary events which ever disgraced the Annals of any nation.

Darnley, in all probability, in spite of the conversations detailed in the following Letter, was actuated in his revenge more by pride than jealousy. The writer of the History of Scotland in Holinshed's Chronicle, at the end of the year 1565, says, "About this time was a new order taken for placing the King and Queens name in all their Writings and Patents. For where, until this time, the Kings name was set before the Queens, now, quite contrary, the name of the Queen was written before the Kings: beside which, afterward, the Queen herself would only set HER name to the writings in place of hers and his: and DAVID *the secretary* was appointed in his place, *to have a* STAMP OF THE KINGS NAME, *to use* WHEN NEED REQUIRED." In Darnley's mind, this must have been treason.

MAYE yt please your Honors heringe of so maynie maters as we do, and fyndinge suche varietie in the reportes, we have myche ado to decerne the veritie, which makethe us the slower and loother to put anye thynge in wrytinge, to th'intente we wolde not that your Honors, and by you the Quenes Majestie our Sovereigne, sholde be advertised but of the verie trothe, as nere as we cane possible. To this ende we thoughte good to sende up Captaine Carowe whoe was in Edenbourge at the tyme of the laste attemptate, whoe spoke ther with divers, and after that with the Quenes self and hir howsbande. Conforme to that which we have lerned by other, and knowe by his reporte, we fynde the same confirmed by the parties self that were ther present and assysters unto those that were executors of the dete[a]. This we fynde for certayne that the Quenes howsbande beinge entred into a vehement suspicion of David that by hym some thynge was commytted which was moste agaynste the Quenes honor and not to be borne of his parte, fyrste communicated his mynde to George Duglas, whoe fyndinge his sorrows so greate, soughte all the meanes he coulde to put some remedie to his greef, and communicatinge the same unto My Lord Ruthen, by the Kings commandement, no other waye coulde be founde then that David sholde be taken owte of the waye, whear in he was so erneste and daylye pressed the same that no

[a] deed.

reste coulde be had untyll yt was put in execution. To this it was founde good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye sholde be made previe, to th'intente that theie myght have their frends at hand yf nede requered, which cawsed them to assemble so maynye as theie thoughte sufficient agaynste the tyme that this determination of theirs sholde be put in execution, which was determined the ixth of this instante, iij. dayes before the Parliamente sholde begyne, at what tyme the saide Lords were assured that the Earles Argile, Morraye, Rothes, and their complices sholde have byne forfited yf the Kinge coulde not be perswaded throughe this meanes to be their frend, whoe for the desyer he had that his intente shulde tayke effecte th'one waye, was contente to yelde withowte all dyfficultie to th'other, with this condition that theie wolde gyve their consents that he myght have the Crowne matremoniall. He was so impatient to see those thyngs he sawe and were dayly broughte to his eares, that he dayly pressed the saide Lord Ruthen that ther myghte be no longer delaye; and to the intente yt myghte be manifeste unto the worlde that he approved the dete[a], was contente to be at the doinge of yt hym self.

Upon the Saterdaye at nyghte, nere unto viij. of the clocke, the King convoythe hym self, the Lord Ruthen, George Duglas, and two other, thorowe his owne Chamber by the previe stayers, up to the Quenes

[a] deed.

Chamber, yoinge [a] to which ther is a Cabinet abowte xij. footes square, in the same a lyttle lowe reposinge bedde, and a table, at the which ther were syttinge at the supper the Quene, the Ladie Argile, and David with his cappe upon his heade. Into the Cabinet ther commethe in the King, and Lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, sayinge that ther was no place for hym. The Quene saide that yt was her wyll; her howsbonde answerde that yt was agaynste her honor. The Lord Ruthen saide that he sholde lerne better his deutie, and offeringe to have taken him by the arme, David tooke the Quene by the blyghtes [b] of her gowne, and put hym self behynde the Quene, who wolde gladlye have savid hym; but the Kyng havinge loosed his hands, and holdinge her in his armes, David was thruste owte of the Cabinet thorowe the bede chamber into the Chamber of Presens, whear were the Lord Morton, Lord Lindesaye, whoe intendinge that night to have reserved hym and the nexte daye to hange hym, so maynie beinge abowte them that bore hym evle will, one thruste hym into the boddie with a dagger, and after hym a greate maynie other, so that he had in his boddie above LV. wonds. Yt is tolde for certayne that the Kings owne dagger was lefte stickinge in hym. Wheather he stroke hym or not we cane not knowe for certayne [c]. He was not slayne in the Quenes

[a] going. [b] pleats.

[c] Hume says that Douglas seizing the King's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio.

presens as was saide, but goinge downe the stayers owte of the Chamber of Presence.

Ther remayned a longe tyme with the Quene, her howsbonde and the Lord Ruthen. She made, as we here, greate intercession that he sholde have no harme. She blamed greatlye her howsbonde that was the autor of so fowle an Acte. Yt is saide that he dyd answer that David had more compagnie of her boddie then he for the space of two monethes, and therfore for her honor and his owne contentement he gave his consent that he sholde be taken awaye. Yt is not, saythe she, the Woman's parte to seeke the howsbonde, and therefore in that the fawlt was his owne. He said that when he came, she ether wolde not or made her self sycke [a]. Well, saythe she, you have taken your laste of me, and your farewell. That were pyttie, saythe the Lord Ruthen, he is your Majesties howsbond, and you must yelde deutie to eache other. Whye maye not I, saythe she, leave hym as well as your wyf dyd her howsbonde. Other have done the lyke. The Lord Ruthen saide that she was lawfullye devorced from her howsbonde, and for no suche cawse as the Kinge founde hym self greved. Besyds this man was meane, basse, ennemie to the nobilitye, shame to her, and dystruction to her Grace's countrye. Well saythe

[a] In the Original, from the words "She blamed greatlye" to the end of this sentence, three lines are drawn obliquely down the page, with this Note in the margin, "It is our parts rather to passe this matter with silence then to mayke any suche rehersall of thyngs commytted unto us in secret, but we knowe to whome we wryte, and leave all thyngs to your wysedoms."

she, yt shalbe deare blude to some of you yf hys be spylte. God forbed, saythe Lord Ruthen, for the more your Grace showe yourself offended, the worlde wyll judge the worce. Her howsbonde this tyme speakethe lyttle. Her Grace contynuallye weepethe. The Lord Ruthen beinge evle at ease, and weake, callethe for a drinke, and saythe this I muste do with your Majesties pardon, and perswadethe her in the beste sorte he coulde that she wolde pacifie her self. Nothynge that coulde be saide coulde please her.

In this mean tyme ther rose a comber[a] in the Courte, to peacifie which ther went downe the Lord Ruthen, who went strayte to the Earles Huntlye, Bothewell, and Athall to quiet them, and to assure them from the King that nothynge was intended agaynste them. Theie, notwithstondinge, takinge feare when theie hearde that my Lord of Murraye wolde be ther the next daye, and Argile, to meete them; Huntlye and Bothewell gette owte of a wyndow and so departe. Athall had leave of the Kyng, with Flyske and Landores (whoe was latlye called Lyslaye, the person of Ovne) to go whear theie wolde; and beinge convoide owte of the Court by the Lord of Liddingeton, theie went that nighte to suche places whear theie thoughte them selves in moste saulftie.

Before the Kinge leafte tawlke with the Quene, in the heringe of the Lord Ruthen, she was content that

[a] a route.

he sholde lye with her that nyghte. We knowe not howe he forslowe[a] hym self, but came not at her, and excused hym self to his frends that he was so sleapie that he coulde not wake in due tyme.

Ther were in this compagnie two that came in with the Kinge; th'one Androwe Car of Fawsensyde, whome the Quene saythe wolde have stroken her with a dagger, and one Patricke Balentine brother to the Justice Clerke who also her Grace saythe offered a dagge[b] agaynste her bellye with the cocke downe. We have byne ernestlye in hande with the Lord Ruthen to knowe the veritie; but he assurethe us of the contrarie. Ther were in the Quenes Chamber the Lord Robert, Arthur Ersken, one or ij. other; theie at the fyrste offeringe to mayke some defence. The Lord Ruthen drewe his dagger, and fewe mo wepons then that were not drawne nor seen in her Grace's presens as we are by the saide Lord assured.

The nexte daye abowte vij. of the clocke after none ther arrived the Earle of Murraye and th'other with hym that were in Englande. He spake immediatlye with the Kinge, and strayte after with the Quene. She saide that he was welcome, and layde the fawlte upon other that he was owte of the Countrie, requered of hym to be a good subjecte, and she wolde be to hym as he oughte. The nexte daye he spake with her agayne, as also my Lord of Morton and Lord Ruthen

[a] lost himself through sloth. [b] a pistol.

who exhorted her humblyè to caste of[a] her care, to stodie for that whiche myghte be her saftie, weele, and honor, promesinge for their parts obbediens and service as becommed trowe and faythefull subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worthe; wylled them to devise what myght be for their securitie, and she wolde subscribe yt. She sendethe for the Lord of Liddingeton, and in gentle words devisethe with hym that he wolde perswade that she myght have her libertie, and the garde that was abowte her removed, seinge that she had graunted their requests. He founde yt verie good and not maynie of the Lords as we here that myslyked yt. All men beinge gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of anye that ether she wolde departe or not performe the promes to the Lords, abowte xij. of the clocke at nyghte she convoide her self a privie waye owte of the Howse. She, her howsbonde, and one gentlewoman came to the place whear Arthur Ersken and the Captaine of her Garde keapte the horses, and so roode her waye behynde Arthur Ersken untyll she came to Seton, ther she tooke a horse to her self, and roode to Dombarrton to the Castle, wheather resorted unto her the Lords Huntlye and Bothewell, and so divers of the whole Countrie.

The Lords beinge thus dysappoynted sent the nexte daye the Lord Simple to her Grace with requeste from

[a] off.

their Lordships unto her Majestie to fulfyll her promes to signe that Byll for their securitie. He was dyffered ij. or iij. days untyll suche tyme as divers of the Lords of the which the Earl of Glencarne was the fyrste, the Earle Rothese nexte, and some other, by secret meanes had gotten their remission and were fullye restored, whoe breakinge from the reste as their force dimenesshede so dyd her Grace increace, and whear before theie were hable to have at the leaste defended them selves, theie were fayne to seeke their owne saulftie. To this also the slowe commynge of the Earle of Argile was a greate impediment, whoe beinge not yet comen to Edenburgh dyd put no smale dowte les that he wolde followe the same waye which Glencarne and Rothes had done. The Earle Morton and Lord Ruthen fyndinge them selves lefte by the Kynge for all his fayer promesses, bands, and subscriptions, and seinge th'other fawle from them, savinge the Earle of Murraye and suche as were of the laste enterpryse, thoughte beste to provide for themselves, and so every one of them tayke their severall waye, whear theie thynke that theie maye be moste at ease or suertie: whose names we sende herewith to your Honors.

The Earle of Argile beinge come to Lythecowe[a], My Lord of Murraye with his frends go to hym.

Abowte the tyme that the Lords lefte Edenburgh, the Quene departed Dombar towards yt. She enterde

[a] Linlithgow.

the Towne abowte iij. M. persons, all men beinge commanded to attende upon hir Grace at her pleasure. The noble men and beste hable remayne yet ther. She lodgethe not in the Abbaye, but in a howse in the Towne in the hye streate; and yesterdaye removed to one other nearer the Castle and larger. The nexte daye after her arrivall she sendethe the person of Flyske to Lythecowe with conditions to my lords Argile, Murraye, and the reste, which beinge by them founde sufficient for their saulftie, with restitution to their lands and goods, have accepted with these restrayntes, not, for a space, to come near the Courte, nor yet to be suters for those that committed the laste attemptate. The Kinge hathe utterlye forsaken them, and protested before the Counsell that he was not consentinge to the death of David, and that yt is sore agaynste his wyll: he wyll nether mayntayne them nor defende them: whear upon the nexte daye publicke Declaration was made at the Marquet Crosse of Edenburgh the xxjth of this instante agaynste the Lords, declaringe the Kings innocencie in that matter. As maynie as were at this Acte, or of counsell, are somonde to underlye the Lawe upon Frydaye nexte. Divers of them are oute of the Countrie, as my Lord of Morton, the Lord Ruthen, his sonne, and Androwe Car. The Lord of Lindesaye is ether with my Lord of Argile or within the Lord Athals bounds, whear also yt is saide that my Lord of Liddingeton is, of

whome we here that he hathe accepted a charge from the Quene to enter hymself presoner in Enivernes. He was participant of this laste counsell dyscovered by the Kings self, as all the reste were that he knewe. Domlaneriche is in the Castle of Edenburgh; a sone of his in the Blacknese; the larde of Wetherborne, a Hume of good livinge, in Dombarre; of which newe we here that my Lord of Bothewell hathe the keepinge, and is entred into all the lands that the Lord of Liddingeton had in possession. The parson of Flyske is made Clarke of the Regester: whear hym self is we knowe not: his wyf put owte of the howse and yt spoyled, geven in praye to the soldiars. Whoe shalbe Secretarie we knowe not; but the Lord of Liddington havinge suche frendeshipe with my Lord Athall is thoughte that he shall do well inoughe. The Justice Clerke rather suspected for his brother then that he cane be accused to háve byne of this practyse; yet as we heare his office is geven awaye. Divers of the Towne, honeste men, commetted to prison, and divers escaped.

Besyds her Garde she hathe iij. C soldiers in wages which are payde by the Towne, who fynde the bourdayne greate, and extremitie suche, as under the Frenche men their lives were never so sore.

The Quene hath cawsed a bande to be made, and wyll that all men that are frends to anye of those that were previe to David deathe shall subscribe to pursue

them, and do their uttermoste to apprehende them and bringe them to the place of Justice. Some have subscribed, other have refused, and as we here that is the cawse of the impresonment of Domlaneriche and his sonne, whoe came to the towne ij. dayes after the deathe of David.

Of the greate substance he had ther is myche spoken. Some saye in golde to the value of ij. M^li^ st. His apparell was verie good; as yt is sayde xviij. payre of velvet hose. His Chamber well furnysshed, armour, daggs, pystoletts, harquebusis, xxij. swerds. Of all this nothinge spoyled nor lackinge, savinge ij. or iij. daggs. He had the custodie of all the Quenes Lettres, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We heare of a juell that he had hanginge abowte hys necke of some price that cane not be hearde of. He had upon his backe, whan he was slayne, a nyghte gowne of damaske furred with a satteryne dublet, and hose of russet velvet.

Bycawse you M^r^ Secretarie in your Lettre of the xx^th^ requered that you myght be advertysed by me Randolph at good lenghthe with the circomstonces of those thyngs that were done at that tyme, and of the speaches betwixt the Quene and them, your Honors shall receave all that hytherto we have hearde, havinge conferred the Reports from abroode which came to our knowlege with the sayings of these noble men, the Lord Morton and Lord Ruthen that are present, and,

of them all, that which we have founde neareste to the trothe, or as we beleve the trothe self, have here put them in wrytinge, not havinge at thys tyme so myche care howe longe we troble you with the readinge, nor howe homelye theie are put to gyther; but wyllinge to our utter moste parte to informe you the trothe, leavinge the judgement of the matter self to your wysedomes. Yt maye please your Honors farther to knowe that ther arrived here upon Mondaye laste the Earle of Morton that came in by the Weste borders and with hym George Duglas. His L. and my Lord Ruthen have bothe wrytten to your Honors beinge advised therunto by my Lord of Murraye, and mynde verie shortlye to mayke full declaration of their whole cawse howe yt procedid from the beginnynge to thys tyme of their arrivall here.

Besyds these which are here, not above x. or xij. persones yt is thought that other shortlye wyll repayre into the Countrie, for that we here that theie are sharplye pursued, their howses and goods possessed, and them selves verie ernestlye sought for. We have no farther at this tyme to wryte unto your Honors savinge we heare for certayne that the Earle of Lenox is commanded from the Courte, in what sorte or wheather[a] yet we knowe not.

We see no force intended by the Subjects towards their Sovereigne; but a pacient wyll to indure this fortune untyll yt please God to mayke yt better.

[a] whither.

The Lord Ruthen is verie sycke and keapethe moste his bedde.

Thus havinge longe trobled you for the desyer we have in all thyngs to satysfie you, thoughe we had good wyll in some thyngs to have byne sparer, in speciall for the speaches betwen the Quene and her howsbonde, we take our leaves.

At Barwicke the xxvijth of Marche 1566.

Your Honors moste assured

F. BEDFORD.

THO. RANDOLPHE.

My Lord of Murraye, by a speciall servant sent unto us, desierethe your Honors favour to these noble men as his dere frends, and such as for hes sake hathe geven this adventeur.

THE names of suche as were doers and of counsell in this laste attemptate committed at Edenb. the ixth of Marche 1565[a].

The Earle of Morton.

L. Ruthen.

L. Lyndesaye.

The M^{r} of Ruthen.

L. of Liddington Secret.

M^{r} James Magil, Clerke of the Regester.

S^{r} John Balendin, Justice Clerke.

S^{r} Come.

M^{r} Adam Ersken, Abbot of Combuskenethe.

[a] 1565-6.

Larde of Drumwhastle, called Congingham.
Lar. of Carse. Montethe.
La. Bawarde. Murraye.
La. of Lough Leven.
His Brother that maried the Heyer of Bouchan.
Androwe Carre of Fawdensyde.
Ormeston.
Brimston.
Elphenston.
Hanton.
Caudor.
Strrnehauke.
Patricke Balentine.
Whittingham.
Patrick Murraye of Tibhere Moore.
Tho. Scote, Under Sheriff of Stretherne.
Larde of Carmichell.
Androwe Coningham, Sonne to the E. of Glencarne.
Mr Androwe Haye.
Mr Archibald Duglas.
George Duglas, Uncle to the King.
Alex. Ruthen, Brother to the Lord Ruthen.

All thes, men of good livings, besydes a number other gentlemen.

Imprisoned.

The Larde of Dromlangricke in Edenb. Castle.
The La. of Wetherborne, in Donbar Castle.

The Provoste of Glenclonden Sonne to Doml. in the Blacknes.

The Earle of Lenox commanded from the Courte.

*** After the murder of Rizzio, "the vengeance of the Queen of Scots," says Hume, "was implacable against her husband alone, whose person was before disagreeable to her, and who, by his violation of every tie of gratitude and duty, had now drawn on him her highest resentment. She engaged him to disown all connections with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, even to publish a PROCLAMATION containing a falsehood so notorious to the whole world; and having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him ever to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation."

The following was the King's DECLARATION, already alluded to in p. 216.

"Apud Edinbroug xx°. Martii 1565.[a]

"Forasmuch as divers sedicious and wicked persons have maliciously sowed rumors, bruts, and pryvey whisperings anemst the lieges of our Realm, slanderously and irreverently backbiting the Kings Majestie, as that the late Conspiracye and cruel murder committed in presence of the Quene's Majestie and treasonable deteyning of her Majesties moost noble persone in captivitye was done at his commaundement, by his counsail, assistence, and approbation, his Grace for the removing of the evil opinion which the good subjects may be induced to conceyve through such false reports and sedicious rumors, hath, aswell to the Quenes Majestie as in the presence of the Lords of Secret Counsaill plainly declared upon his honor, fidelite, and the woord of a Prince, that he never knewe of any part of the sayd treasonable Conspiracye whereof he is slaunderously and sakefesly traduced, nor never counsailed, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same. Thus farr onely his Highnes oversaw himself in to, that at the intisement and perswasion of the sayd late Conspirators, his Grace, without the Quenes Majesties advise and knowledge, consented to the bringing home out of Englande of the Earles of Murrey, Glencarne, Rothes, and other persons being ther, with whom her Highnes was offended; which he hath in no wise denyed, and this is the symple, syncer, and playn truth to all and sundry to whome it offers, be it made knowen and manifest by these presents."[b]

[a] *i. e.* 1565-6.

[b] MS. Cotton. Calig. B. IX. fol. 213.

LETTER CLXXXVII.

Queen Elizabeth, to Sir John Foster respecting the Earl of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, and their Accomplices.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 9. *art.* 19.]

*** The Reader need hardly be reminded that several of the murderers of Rizzio fled to England. How far they were favored by Queen Elizabeth, or rather by Cecil's policy, the following Letter will, in some measure, explain. Lord Ruthven died at Newcastle shortly after, as it was said, repentant.

Sir John Forster to whom the Queen's Letter is addressed, was one of the Wardens of the Borders.

TRUSTY ande right welbeloved Wee grete you well. Whereas the Quene of Scotts our good sister chargінge the Erle Moreton, Lord Ruthwen, and otheres their Complices, remayninge nowe at our Towne of Newcastle, not only with the slawghter of hir servant David the Italian not far frome hir persone, but with certein other treasons towards hir owne personne, hathe thereupon maide diverse ernest meanes to us, bothe by messages ande Lettres, to deliver them unto hir; and on hir behalfe the Frenche Kinge haithe ernestlie required us to deny them any succor: ande seinge that wee maye not indede maintein the keppinge of them withein our Realme, and yet consederinge the displesour that the Quene their soveraigne presentlie beareth towardes them, wee wolde be lothe to committ them into hir handes duringe the tyme of hir indignation. Wee therefore wolde that thaie shulde de-

vise of some place out of our realme, where they maie provide for ther lives and safety vntil suche tyme as ether theye may procure their Soveraignes wrath and displeasoure to be assuaged towardes them, or ells that suche indyfferency of Lawe (as they cane reasonably desier) may, accordinge to their doings, be ministered unto them. Wherefore we requier you forthwith to repaire to them, ande thus muche to signify unto them, that therafter thay maie take spedy order for some place for their saiftie out of our Realme, where thaie shall think metest. This matter you shall as of yourself firste declare unto them, as a thinge conveniente ande necessary for them to do: ande if they shall not thereupon make their resolution to departe, then you shall singnyfie unto them this our pleasor in our name expressely. And thereof faile you not to see it executed. Yeven under our Signet at our mannor of Grenewich the vijth of May 1566. the eight yere of our Reigne.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

Mary Queen of Scots to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. X. fol. 388. *Orig.*]

*** Of this Letter, the signature alone is the Queen's: The rest is written in the hand of a secretary. It relates to the succession of Mary, in the event of Queen Elizabeth's death without issue, to the Crown of

England; and alludes to the same, as having been recently motioned in Parliament.

It was one of the most unfortunate incidents of Mary's life that, soon after her marriage with the Dauphin of France in 1558, she was induced in that Court to assume the title of Queen of England.

Among Lord Burghley's Notes of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, we find the following entries:

"1559. Jan. 16. "The Dauphin of France and his wife, Queen of Scots, did by the stile of King and Queen of Scotland, ENGLAND, and IRELAND, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28. "The Justs at Paris, wherein the King Dauphin's two Heralds were apparelled with the ARMS *of* ENGLAND *and* SCOTLAND."

July 16th. "Ushers, going before the Queen of Scots (being now the French Queen) to the Chapel, cry '*Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre*'"[a].

The Cottonian Manuscript Calig. B. x. fol. 13. contains a coloured drawing of the Escutcheon of the Arms of Scotland and England which was set upon certain "caroches" at the marriage of the King of Spain with the French King's daughter, in the month of July 1559, with these verses beneath:

> "The Armes of Marie Quene Dolphines of France
> The nobillest Ladie in earth for till advance:
> Off Scotland Quene, and of INGLOND also,
> Off IRELAND als God haith providit so."

According to Lord Burghley's Notes, however, in that same month, the Constable Montmorency interfered to stay the publication both of the Stile and Arms of England: but a rancor was generated, the effects of which Mary felt through life; and which was aided in no trifling degree by the imprudent anxiety which both Mary and her ministers were constantly evincing for the settlement of the Succession upon her.

As early as 1559 the House of Commons, by the mouth of their Speaker Thomas Gargrave, took upon them to exhort Queen Elizabeth to marriage. In answer, she drew the Ring *from her finger* with which at her Coronation she had in a set form of words solemnly given herself in marriage to her kingdom; assuring the deputation who brought the message, that it would be to her a full satisfaction both for the memorial of her name and for her Glory, if when she died it were engraven upon her marble tomb '*Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.*'

In 1563, partly by the intrigues of the friends of the Queen of Scots, another Address was voted by the House of Commons, in which they en-

[a] Murdin's State Papers, pp. 748, 749.

treated the Queen that a successor might be named, at least appointed by an Act of Parliament. The Answer which they received on this occasion occupies but a short space upon the Journals, "Martis, 16° Februarij, M^r. "Comptrollef and M^r. Secretary declared from the Queen's Highness "that she doubted not but the grave heads of this House did right well "consider that she forgot not the suit of this House for the Succession, the "matter being so weighty; nor could forget it; but she willed the young "heads to take example of the ancients."

In 1566, a third effort was made. Camden, speaking of the Parliament which met in the beginning of November that year, says, "after they had passed a bill or two, they began to debate loudly about the Succession, for that the Queen as if she had vowed virginity, had now, in full eight years time thought nothing seriously of a husband: and on the one side the Papists propounded unto themselves the Queen of Scots, which had newly brought forth a son; on the other the Protestants, with different affections, propounded to themselves, some one man, and some another; and every of them having respect to his own security and religion, presaged the storms of a most lamentable time, if she should die without a certain successor" [a].

In their Address at this time, the House of Commons having granted the Queen a subsidy, mixed the mention of the Succession with it. The close of this very Address is still preserved among the Royal Letters of the Lansdowne Collection. It is followed by two lines in cypher in the hand of Lord Burghley, after which come Queen Elizabeth's Remarks written in a hurried hand, as if in anger:

"Let thes two concernings into one mening, and my counsell is all given; let not other regard them selves so holy as I have no corner left for me. Let them knowe that I knewe, thogh I followed not, that some of them wold my pure conscience better served me than ther lewde practises could availe with me. I knowe no reason whi any my privat answers to the Realme shuld serve for prologe to a subsidey vote; neither yet do I understand why suche audacitie should be used to make withoute my licence an Acte of my wordes; ar my wordes like lawiers bokes whiche nowe a dayes go to the wiar drawers to make subtall doings more plain? Is ther no hold of my speche without an Acte compel me to confirme? Shall my princely consent be turned to strengthen my wordes that be not of themselves substantives? Say no more at this time, but if thes fellowes wer wel answered and payed with lawfull coyne ther wold be fewer counterfaits amonge them" [b].

The following Letter from the Queen of Scots to the Lords of Eliza-

[a] Camd. Hist. Eliz. fol. Lond. 1675. p. 83.
[b] MS. Lansd. Brit. Mus. Num. 1236. fol. 42.

beth's Council, was evidently written in the expectation that something would have been effected by the Debate and the Address.

Richt trusty and weilbelovit Cousingis we greit you hertlie weill. Quhair as we have understand be report of our familiar servitor Robert Malvile, the gude offers maid to our behuif be the Quene our gude sustir zour Soverane: we think our self oblist[a] to do to hur quhatsoevir a gude suster and tender cousing aucht, quhair she findis sa greit thankfulnes: and that we culd not declair the affection we beir towert our said dearest suster bettir, nor be that quhilk we did quhen we luikit not to have broukit this lyff xij[th] houris in our lait sicknes: at quhilk tyme our meanyng wes that the speciall cair of the protectioun of our Sone suld rest uponn our said gude suster. We beleve ze have alwayes bene gude ministers to move zour Soverane to schaw hir awin reasonable favor to our avancement in that quhilk is richt, and firmlie luikis ze will sa continew. We tak oure self (as we doubt not bot ze knaw) to be the Quene zour Soverains nixt cousing, and, nixt herself and the lauchfull yssue of hir body, to have gretest interest of all uther to that quhilk hes bene, as is reportit, laitlie motionated in the Parliament Hous. And albeit we be not of mynd to preis[b] our said gude Suster further then sall cum of hir awin gude plesor till[c] put that mater in questioun. Zit be

[a] obliged. [b] press. [c] to.

caus in that cais we wilbe jugeit be the lawis of the Realme of England, we do effectuuslie require zou to have respect to justice with indifferency quhensoevir it sall pleis the Quene zour Soverane to put the same mater in deliberation. As to ws we will na wys insist thairin unto sic tyme as it sall pleis hir self to gif ws warning. We desir zou in the men tyme to have that opinion of ws, that as we meyn to continew all our lyfe in gude intelligence with the Quene zour Soverane and that Realme, sa gif ony Prince in earth wald offend the same, we wald withstand him at our uter power, and that ze can not advise our said dearest suster to extend hir favor towertis ony that sall recognosce it in a bettir sort. And so we commit zou to the protection of God. At Dunbar the xviij. day of November 1566.

Zour gude Cousignace

MARIE R.

To the Lords of
the Quenes Counsell.

The sickness spoken of in this Letter, in which Mary "looked not to have brooked this life twelve hours," is mentioned by Mr. Chalmers. He says, "On the 17th. October 1566 the Queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which during ten days brought her into a doubtful state; owing partly to her husband, and to her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy[a]."

[a] Chalmers's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 8vo. 1822. pp. 296, 297.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

Queen Elizabeth to the Lady Hoby.

[MS. HARL. 7035. p. 161.]

*** After a specimen of Queen Elizabeth's anger, it will not be ill-timed to place before the reader a specimen of her kindness in condolence, as conveyed in a Letter to the Lady Hoby upon the death of her husband.

Sir Thomas Hoby went ambassador to France April 4th. 1566. Lord Burghley has the following entry relating to his death that year, in his Notes of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. "July 13th. Sir Thomas Hobby died at Paris, and the Lady his wife, being then with child, brought his body afterward into England. She being great with child, which was born in England, and christened by the name of Posthumus."[a]

MADAM

ALTHOUGH we heare that since the death of your husband, our late Ambassador, Sr Thomas Hoby, you have received, in France, great and comfortable courtesyes from the French King, the Queen Mother, the Queen of Navarre and sundry others, yet we made accompt that all these layd together cannot so satisfye you as some testimony and sparke of our favour, with the application of the late service of your Husband, and of your own demeanour there: wherefore though you shall receive it somewhat lately in time, yet we assure you the same proceedeth only of the late knowledge of your return. And therefore we let you know that the service of your Husband was to us so acceptable, as next yourself and your children we have not

[a] Murdin's State Papers, p. 762.

the meanest loss of so able a Servant in that calling. And yet since it hath so pleased God to call him in the entry of this our Service, we take it in the better part, seeing it hath appeared to be Gods pleasure to call him away, so favourably to the service of him, especially in the constancy of his duty towards God, wherein, we hear say, he dyed very commendably.

And for your self, we cannot but let you know that we hear out of France such singular good reports of your duty well accomplished towards your husband, both living and dead, with other your sober, wise, and discreet behaviour in that Court and Country, that we think it a part of great contentation to us, and commendation of our Country, that such a Gentlewoman hath given so manifest a testimony of virtue in such hard times of adversity. And therefore though we thought very well of you before, yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts, and wherein soever we may conveniantly do you pleasure, you may be thereof assured. And so we would have you to rest yourself in quietness, with a firm opinion of our especiall favour towards you. Given under our Signet at our City of Oxford the . . of September 1566: the eight year of our Reign.

Your loving Friend

ELIZABETH, R.

LETTER CXC.

Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth; written immediately upon her landing at Workington in Cumberland: May 17th 1568.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 68. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

*** Mary Queen of Scots took her flight from the Castle of Lochleven May 2d. 1568; a few days after which, her adherents rallying powerfully round her, she mustered an army of no less than six thousand men. The Regent Murray, with inferior numbers, sought to meet her; and on May 13th, gained, at a short distance from Glasgow, the decisive victory of Langside.

The following was the despatch from William Drury, marshal of Berwick, which announced this victory to Sir William Cecil. The original is still preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, Calig. c. I. fol. 67.

"Right honorable accordinge to my last of the xiiijth. of this present, touching the encounter of the Quenes force and th'Earle of Murrayes, the same was true; and th'Earle, the Vicerov, the L. Seton, the L. Ross, the young L. of Preston, Sir James Ambleton, the L. of Freybrowen and others prisoners, and divers slaine, whereof the most are of the Ambletons, and two captaines of footemen, as Steuarte and Loader, schould also be slaine and their enseyntes taken; their ordinance is also taken, as fower field pieces which were the Ambletons; and the cariage with the powder by some accedent, as they were fighting, took fier and blew up. Th'earle[a] did his best to stay bloud to be shed, ye by his contraryes the same is affirmed.

"The Quene a reasonable distance off; and gave the looking on till she sawe howe it proceded; but then retyred unto Dunbarton where she yet remaines, and not so farre followed, nor in the chase so much harme done as might, for that most were of foote."

"From Barwick, this 15th. May 1568."

Queen Mary, however, continuing her flight, embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway with Lord Herries and a few attendants; and, on the evening of the 16th. of May, landed at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence throwing herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth, she wrote the Letter which is now before the Reader.

[a] The Earl of Murray.

MADAME ma bonne sœur, je croys que vous n'ignores point de quel temps auquns subjects, lesquels j'ay fait des moyndres les premiers de mon royaulme, se sont mis en devoir de me travailler et fayre se a quoy il apert mayntenant ils tendoyent alors premier. Vous scaves comme ils proposerent me prandre et le feu roy mon mari, dont il pleut a Dieu nous guarder et nous permetre les chasser hors du pays, ou a votre requeste je les resceuts despuis, encores qu'ils eurent comis en leur retour un aultre crisme de me tenir prisoniere, et tuer en ma presance un mien serviteur moy estand grosse; il pleut encores a Dieu que je me sauuisse de leur mains, et comme si desubs est dit, leur pardonis non seulement, ayns les resceus en mesme faveur aupres de moy. Mays eulx non encores contenpts de tant de bienfayts, non obstant leur promesse, au contrere ont devisé et favorisé, et signé, et asisté a un crisme pour le me metre faulsement a subs comme j'espere le vous fayre conoitre a plain. Ils sont soubs ceste couleur venus en batylle contre moy, et m'acu-

Translation.

MADAM, MY GOOD SISTER,

I BELIEVE you are not ignorant, how long certain of my subjects, who from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the first, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late King my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the country, where, at your request, I again, afterwards, received them; though, on their return, they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time in a state of pregnancy. It again pleased God, that I should save myself from their hands; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favour. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favoured, subscribed to, and aided in a crime, for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have under this pretence arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill advised,

sants d'estre mal conseillée, et que ils desiroient me delivrer de mauayse compagnie pour me resmontrer les choses qui requeroyent reformation. Moy me sentant inoscente et desireuse d'esviter le respandemant de sang aley me metre entre leur mayns desireus [de reformer,] ce qui estoit mal disposé, incontinant ils me prindrent et me misrent en prison. Lors je les acusey de leur promesse et priay que l'on me fit entendre pourquoy l'on me masnioyt aynsin ils s'absantirent tous. Je demanday d'estre ouie en conseill, il me fut refusé. Brief, ils m'on tenue sans serviteurs que deus fames, et un cuisinier, et un schirurgien, et m'ont menassé de me tuer, si je ne signoys une dimission de ma couroune; se que craynte de soubdayne mort me fit fayre, comme j'ay verifié despuis d'auvant toute la noblesse, que j'espere vous en montrer tesmoygnasge. Apres ils me resairirent, et m'on accusé et prosedé contre moy en parlemant sans medire pourquoy, ni sans m'ouir, defandant tout advocat de parler pour moy, contreygnant les autres de s'acorder a leur

Translation.

and pretending a desire to see me delivered from bad counsels, in order to point out to me the things that required reformation. I, feeling myself innocent, and desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, placed myself in their hands, wishing to reform what was amiss. They immediately seized, and imprisoned me. When I upbraided them with a breach of their promise, and requested to be informed why I was thus treated, they all absented themselves. I demanded to be heard in Council, which was refused me. In short, they have kept me without any servants, except two women, a cook, and a surgeon; and they have threatened to kill me, if I did not sign an abdication of my Crown, which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have since proved before the whole nobility, of which I hope to afford you evidence.

After this they again laid hold of me; and they have accused, and proceeded against me in Parliament, without saying why, and without hearing me; forbidding, at the same time, every advocate to plead for me; and compelling the rest to acquiesce in their unjust usurpation of my rights, they have robbed me of every thing

faulse Usurpation de mon estast, m'ont pillée de tout ce que j'auoys au monde; ne me permettant iamays d'escrire ni parler, pour ne rien contredire a leur faulses inuantions. A la fin, il â pleu a Dieu me delivrer lors qu'ils pansoyent me fayre mourir, pour etre plus seur de leur estast, combien que ie leur ofris respondre a tout ce qu'il auroient a medire et de leur ayder a la punition de seulx qui seroient coulpables d'auqun crisme. En fin, il pleut a Dieu me delivrer au grand contantement de tous mes subjects, excepté Mora, Morton, Humes, Glinguerne, Mar, et Semple, ausquels apres que toute ma noblesse fut venue de toutes parts, j'envoye dire, que non obsant leur ingratitude et iniuste cruauté vsee vers moy, ie les vouloys bien semondre de leur devvoir et leur offrir seureté de vie et biens, et de tenir vn parlemant pour reformer toutes choses. J'envoie deus foys, ils prirent et enprisonerent les mesagers, firent proclamations declarant tous trytres ceulx qui m'asisteroyent et coulpables de cest odieulx crisme. Je leur mandis qu'ils m'en nom-

Translation.

I had in the world; never permitting me either to write, or to speak, in order that I might not contradict their false inventions.

At last, it pleased God to deliver me, when they thought of putting me to death that they might make more sure of their power, though I repeatedly offered to answer any thing they had to say to me, and to join them in the punishment of those who should be guilty of any crime. In short, it pleased God to deliver me, to the great content of all my subjects, except *Murray*, *Morton*, the *Humes*, *Glencarne*, *Mar*, and *Semple*, to whom, after that my whole nobility was come from all parts, I sent to say, that notwithstanding their ingratitude and unjust cruelty employed against me, I was willing to invite them to return to their duty, and to offer them security of their lives and estates, and to hold a Parliament for the purpose of reforming every thing. I sent twice. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and made proclamation declaring all those persons traitors who assisted me, and were guilty of this odious crime. I demanded that they should name one of them, and

assent vn, je le deliureroys, les priant me delivrer ceulx aussi qui leur seroient nomes. Ils prindrent l'ofisier et mes proclamation, et je envoie demander seureté pour mi lord Boyd pour tryter apointemant ne desirant pour moy nulle effudion de sang; ils le refeusarent et dirent què si auqun auoit fayli a leur regent et a mon fils, qu'il noment Roy, qu'ils si me lessasent et se missent en leur voulontay. Se que toute la noblesse prit en tres mauvayse part. Pour cela, voiant qu'ils n'estoyen que particuliers, et que ma noblesse m'estoyt plus affectonnée que iamays, j'esperois aveques le temps et votre faveur qu'ils seroynt reduits peu a peu, et voiant qu'ils disoient me vouloir reprandre ou mourir tous, je m'ascheminay vers Donbertran passant deus mille pres d'eus, ma noblesse m'acompagnant marchant en batylle entre eulx et moy, quoy voiant ils sortent et vienent me couper chemin pour me prandre. Mes gens voiant cela, meulx de cete extresme malice pour leur couper chemin, les rancontrent sans

Translation.

that I would give him up; and begged them at the same time to deliver to me such as should be named to them. They seized upon my officer, and my proclamation. I sent to demand a safe conduct for my Lord Boyd, in order to treat of an accommodation, not wishing, as far as I might be concerned, for any effusion of blood. They refused, saying that those who had not been true to their Regent, and to my son, whom they denominate King, should leave me, and put themselves at their disposal: a thing at which the whole nobility was greatly offended.

Seeing therefore that they were only a few individuals, and that my nobility were more attached to me than ever, I was in hope that, in the course of time, and under your favour, they would gradually be reduced; and seeing that they said they would either retake me, or all die, I proceeded toward Dumbarton, p u ing at the distance of two miles from them: my nobility accompanying me, marching in order of battle between them and me: which they seeing, sallied forth, and came to cut off my way and take me. My people seeing this, and moved by that extreme malice of my enemies, with a view to check their progress, encountered them without order, so that, though they were twice their number, their sudden advance caused to them so great

ordre, de falson que combien qu'ils feusent deus foys aultant leur soubdayn marcher, leur fit avoir tel desavantasge que Dieu a permis, ils soyent desconfits, et plusieurs tues et pris, tres cruelemant auquns tues se retirant et estant pris, et incontinant la chasse fut rompeue pour me prandre alant a Donbertrant et mestant gens par tout pour me tuer ou prandre, mays Dieu par son infinie bonté ma preservée; m'estant sauee aupeis de mi lord Heris, lequel et autres signeurs qui sommes venu en votre pays estant asurée qu'entendant leur cruaulté, et comme ils m'ont traitée que selon votre bon naturel et la fiance que j'ay en vous, non seulemant me resevres pour la seureté de ma vie, mays m'eideres et asisterays en ma iuste querele, et semondrays les autres princes fayre le samblable. Je vous suplie le plus tost que pourres m'envoyer querir, car je suis en piteux estat, non pour royne mays pour gentillfame; car je n'ay chose du monde que ma persone comme je me suis sauvée, faysant soixsante miles a trauers chenps le premier jour, et n'ayant despuis, jamays osé aller que la nuit, comme j'espere vous re-

Translation.

a disadvantage that God has permitted them to be discomfited, and several killed and taken; some of them were cruelly killed, when taken on their retreat. The pursuit was immediately interrupted, in order to take me on my way to Dunbarton; they stationed people in every direction, either to kill, or take me. But God, through his infinite goodness, has preserved me; and I escaped to my Lord Herris's, who as well as other gentlemen have come with me into your country, being assured that hearing of the cruelty of my enemies, and how they have treated me, you will, comformably to your kind disposition and the confidence I have in you, not only receive me for the safety of my life, but also aid and assist me in my just quarrel; and I shall solicit other Princes to do the same. I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable condition not only for a Queen, but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling sixty miles across the country the first day, and not having since ever

montrer si il vous plest avoir pitie comme j'espere de mon extresme infortune, de la quelle je laysseray a me lamanter pour ne vous importuner, et pour prier Dieu qu'il vous doint en santé tres heurheuse, et longue vie, et a moy pasiance et la consolation que j'antands resevoir de vous a qui je presante mes humbles recommandations. De Wirkinton, ce xvij. de Mey.

Votre tres fidelle et affectionnée bonne
soeur et cousine, et eschapée prisoniere

MARIE R.

Translation.

ventured to proceed except in the night, as I hope to declare before you if it pleases you to have pity, as I trust you will, upon my extreme misfortune; of which I will forbear complaining, in order not to importune you, and to pray God that he may give to you a happy state of health and long life, and to me patience, and that consolation which I expect to receive from You, to whom I present my humble commendations. From Workinton the 17th of May.

Your most faithful and affectionate good
sister and cousin, and escaped prisoner,
MARY, R.

LETTER CXCI.

Mary Queen of Scots to Sir William Cecil.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 81 b. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

MESTER Ceciles, l'equité dont vous avvez le nom destre amateur et la fidelle et sincere servitude que portez a la Royne Madame ma bonne sœur, et par consequent a toutes celles qui sont de son sang et en pareille dignité me fayt en ma juste querele par sur tous au-

tres adresser a vous en ce temps de mon trouble pour etre advancee par votre bon conseille que jay commande a mi lord Heris presant porteur vous fayre entandre au long sur le quel me remetant apres metre recommandee a votre famme et a vous, je priray Dieu vous avoir en sa saynte guarde. De Karlile ce xxviiij. de Mey.

Votre bien bonne amye

MARIE R.

LETTER CXCII.

The Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knōllys to Queen Elizabeth, reporting their first Interview with the Queen of Scots.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 79. *Orig.*]

WE arryved here at Karlell yesterdaye at 6 of the klocke after noone, and by the waye my Lord Harres mett us six myles from this towne, and after he had discoursed of the lamentable estate of the Quene off Skotts his mystres, inveying motche agaynst the treasonable crueltie of hyr enemyes, and also saying as motche as he cowlde for the innocencye of his mystres towchyng the murder of hyr husbande, the which he sayd wold be easelye proved yf the Quene his mystres myght be herd to speyke for hyr selffe in your Hyghnes presence. And affyrmyng that he trusted your Hyghnes wolde eyther gyve hyr ayde to

the chastenyng of hyr subjectes for her releeffe and comforte, or els that your Hyghnes wold gyvé hyr leave to passe thorow your Countrye into France to seeke releeffe otherwayes. Wherunto we answerd that your Hyghnes could in no wyse lyke hyr sekyng ayde in France, therbie to bryng Frenche men into Skotland; and we dowted whether your Hyghnes coulde thynk it mete to receave hyr so honorablye into your presence as your desyrous affectyon and good wyll towards hyr dyd wyshe, untyll your Hyghnes myght be well instructed and satisfyd by probable reasons that she was kleare and innocent of the said murder, by some sotche wyse man as he that myght sett forthe the same manyfestlye. Wheruppon, and throghe other conferences pryvate with me the Lord Skrope, he semed to determyne to ryde towardes your Hyghnes for that intent within a daye or twayne: which was the thyng that we specyally sowght for. And after thys, repayryng into the Castle, we fownde the Quene of Skottes in hyr chamber of presence readye to receave us; where after salutacyons made, and our declaration also of your Hyghnes sorowfulnes for hyr lamentable mysadventure and inconvenyent arryvalle, althoghe your Hyghnes was gladd and joyfull of hyr good escape from the perryll of hyr parsone, wyth many cyrcumstances therunto belonging: and we fownd hyr in hyr answers to have an eloquent tonge, and a discreete hedd; and it seemethe by hyr doyngs she

hathe stowte courage and lyberalle harte adjoyned therunto; and after owre delyverye of youre Hyghnes letters, she fell into some passion with the water in hyr eyes, and therwith she drwe us with hyr into hyr bedd chamber, where she complayned unto us, for that your Highnes dyd not answer hyr expectation for the admyttyng hyr into your presence furthwith; that uppon good declaration of hyr innocencye your Hyghnes wold eyther withowte delaye gyve hyr ayde yourselffe to the subduyng of hyr enemyes, or els beyng nowe come of good wyll and not of necessitie into your Hyghnes handes (for a good and greatest part of hyr subjects, sayd she, doe remayne faste unto hyr styll) your Hyghnes wold at the leaste furthwith gyve hyr passage throghe your Countrye into France to seeke ayde at other Prynces handes; not dowtyng but bothe the Frenche Kyng and the Kyng of Spayne wold gyve hyr releeffe in that behalffe to hyr satisfaction. And here she fell into discourses that the cawse of the Warr and disobedient treason of the cheeffe of these hyr subjectes, was, therby to kepe that which she had to[a] lyberally gyven theym, by vyolence; synce thoroe hyr pryvye revocation theroff within full aege they cowld not injoye the same by lawe. And wythall she affyrmed that bothe Lyddyngton and the Lord Morton were assentyng to the murder of hyr husbande as it cowld wel be proved, althoe nowe they would seme to

[a] too.

persequte the same. Unto the fyrst parte whereoff we answerd that your Hyghnes was inwardly sorye and verye moche greved that youe cowld not doe hyr that great honor to admytt hyr solempnly and worthely into your presence, by reason off this great sclander of murder wheroff she was not yet purged. But we sayde we were sure that your Hyghnes affection towards hyr was great, that whether hyr Grace could purge hyr selffe or not in that behalffe, yet yf she wold depend uppon your Hyghnes favor, without sekyng to bryng in strangers into Skotland (the ymynent danger wheroff your Hyghnes cowld not suffer) then undowtedly youre Hyghnes wold use all the convenyent meanes youe cowld for hyr relcefe and cumforte. And withall we sayd that yff it wold please hyr Grace to directe us therunto, we wold advertise your Hyghnes of those hyr declarations with all spede, uppon answer wherof we should be hable to declare furder of your Hyghnes intent and meanyng; wherewith hyr Grace complayned motche of delayes to hyr prejudice, and wynnyng of tyme to hyr enemyes, so that discontentedlye she contented hyrselffe therwyth. Wheruppon we tooke owre leave saying we wold dispatche awaye with all possyble spede; also the Quene of Skottes dothe presently send upp the L. Herrys with hyr Letters for spedie resolution.

And nowe it behovethe your Hyghnes, in myne opynyon, gravely to consyder what answer is to be

made herein, specially bycawse that many gentlemen of dyvers sheres heare neare adjoynyng within your realme, have herde hyr daylye defences and excuses of hyr innocencye, with hyr great accusations of hyr ennemyes very eloqwently told before our comyng hether. And therfore I the Vicechamberlayn do referr to your Hyghnes better consideration, whether it were not honorable for youe in the syght of your subjectes and of all forrayn prynces, to put hyr grace to the choyse whether she woll departe frely backe into hyr cuntrye withowt your Hyghnes ympechement, or whether she woll remayne at your Hyghnes devotion within youre realme here with her necessarye servants onely to attend uppon hyr to see howe honorablye your Hyghnes can doe for hyr. For by this meanes your Hyghnes, I thynk, shall stopp the mowthes of backbyters that otherwyes wold blowe owte seditious rumors as well in your owne realme as elswhere off detaynyng of hyr ungratfully. And yet I thynke it is lykely that yf she had so hyr owne choyse, she wold not goe backe into hyr owne realme presentlye, nor untyll she myght looke for succors of men owte of France to joyne with hyr there: or yf she wold goe presently into hyr owne cuntrye, the worst were that peradventure with danger ynoughe she myght get into France, and that wold hardly be done, yf my L. of Murraye have a former ynkleth of her departure thether. And on the other syde she can not be kepte so

rygorously as a prysoner with your Hyghnes honor (in myn opynyon) but with devyces of towels or toyes at hyr chamber wyndow, or els where, in the nyght, a bodye of hyr agylyte and spyryte may eskape soone, beyng so neare the border. And surely to have hyr caryed furr into the realme is the hygh waye to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose. Thus ceassing to troble your Majestie we wyshe the same prosperous felicitye, with long continuance off healthe to the pleasure of God, and good contentation of all your good subjects

Your Majesties most humble and
obedient Servants

H. SCROPE
F. KNOLLYS.

LETTER CXCIII.

Sir Francis Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, reporting another Interview with Queen Mary, in which he intimated to her that the crime of murder might be deemed a just cause for deposing a Sovereign.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 82. *Orig.*]

THIS daye ymmediatly after dynner the Quene of Skottes before the closing upp of hyr Letters directed to your Majestie by my Lord Herrys, in private communication with my Lord Skrope and me, fell into hyr ordinarye invaying agaynst my Lord of Murraye

and his adherents, saying amongest other things that whan she was but nine days owlde, they had a reverent and obedient care of hyr; but nowe saythe she, that I am twenty foure yeres owlde they wolde exclude me from government lyke disobedient rebels.

Wherupon I thowght with my selffe that yf I should not object sumwhat to make the matter disputable, whether the Lordes of Skotlond deposing hyr from the government (althoghe not by hyr owne inward consente yet by hyr subscription) dyd well or not, that then she wold more clamorously be offended with youre Majestie yff youe should not answer hyr requestes according to hyr expectation: wherfore I objected unto hyr that in some cases Prynces myght be deposed from theyr government by theyr subjects lawfully, as yff a Prynce should fall into madnes. In this case good subjects myght depose theyr Prynce from government and restrayne hym from lybertie. And (sayd I) what dyfference is there betwene Lunecye and cruell murderyng, for the one is an evyll humor proceding of malyncolye, and the other is an evyll humor proceding of color[a]: wherfore the qwestion ys whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government or not, for yf your Grace should be gyltye of any sotche odyous cryme as deservethe deposall, then (sayd I) howe should they be blamed that have deposed youe. Hereuppon hyr Grace begynnyng to kleare hyr selffe after hyr acustomed maner, the tears yet fell from

[a] choler.

hyr eyes. And then I sayd your Hyghnes wold be the gladdest in the world to see hyr Grace well purged of this cryme, that therby your Hyghnes myght ayde hyr fully and amplelye to the advancement of hyr Grace to hyr governement Royall agayne: for hyr Grace I sayde was your Hyghnes nerest kinswoman on the fathers syde[a], and that youe were bothe borne in one continent of lande, althoe this seperation was betwene youe, that youe were not bothe borne in one circute of obedience. Herewith hyr Grace answerd me very curtysely, but forthewith she sayd she must goe close upp hyr Letters to your Hyghnes, and so departed to hyr bed chamber. This farr I waded with hyr Grace to make hyr cawse disputable, but whan I sawe hyr tears, I forbayre to prosequte myn objection, and fell to comfortyng of hyr with declaration of your Hyghnes great affection and good wyll towards hyr. Althoe I thynk it necessarye that M^r^ Secretarye be made privie hereoff, yet how farr otherwayes to be ymparted I referr to your Hyghnes pleasure. And thus dayly praying for your Majesties prosperous preservation I shall commyt the same to God. From Carlylle this Sonday the 30 off Maye at nyght.

Your Hyghnes most humble
and obedient subject and servant
F. KNOLLYS.

[a] Sir Francis Knollys was himself as near a kinsman to Elizabeth, by the mother's side.

In a subsequent Letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Carlisle June 11th. 1568, Sir Francis Knollys draws the following character of Queen Mary: — "And yet this Ladie and prynces is a notable woman. She semethe to regard no ceremonious honor besyde the acknowlegyng of her estate regalle. She shoethe a disposition to speake motche, to be bold, to be plesant, and to be very famylyare. She shoethe a great desyer to be avenged of hyr enemyes. She shoethe a redines to expone hyrselffe to all perylls in hoope off victorie. She delytethe motche to here of hardines and valiancye; commendyng by name all approved hardye men of hir countrye althoe they be hyr enemyes; and she concealeth no cowardnes even in hyr frendes. The thyng that moste she thirstethe after is victorye, and it semeth to be indifferent to hyr to have hyr enemyes demynyshed eyther by the sword of hyr frendes, or by the lyberall promyses and rewardes of hyr purse, or by devysyon and qwarylls raysed amongst theym selffes: so that for victories sake payne and parylle semethe plesant unto hyr. And in respect of victorie, welthe and all things semethe to hyr contemptuous and vyle. Nowe what is to be done with sotche a Ladye and Pryncesse, or whether sotche a pryncesse and ladie be to be norysshed in ones bosome, or whether it be good to halte and dissembyll with sotche a ladye I referr to your judgement."

LETTER CXCIV.

Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, a Letter of expostulation concerning her intended removal from Carlisle.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 121. *Transl.*]

*** The following Letter is a Translation of the time, and was perhaps prepared for the use of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth had great fondness for the Latin and Italian tongues, but, late in life at least, seems, like her sister Mary the First, to have had but small love for, and probably little skill in French. Though Mary and Elizabeth were both instructed in that language under the direction of Queen Catherine Parr[a].

[a] Among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum is a small volume in an embroidered binding, consisting of Prayers and Meditations selected from different English writers by Queen Catherine Parr, and translated and written by the Princess Elizabeth, in Latin, French, and Italian. The Volume is dedicated to King Henry the Eighth; and dated from Hertford Dec. 20th. 1545. Camden also mentions "A

It is remarkable that the same volumes of the Cottonian Collection which contain the original Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth, likewise contain translations of the greater part of them, in Latin, written with care, and occasionally with a degree of elegance. For what purpose these Versions were made, is not known. It has been conjectured that these also, were made for Queen Elizabeth.

MADAME

ALTHOUGH the necessitee of my cause (which makith me to be importune to you) do make you to judge that I am out of the way, yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects wherof you ar perswaded, will think that I do as my cause doth requyre. Madame I have not accused you, neither in wordes nor in thought, to have usid your self evell towardes me; and I beleeve that you have no want of good understanding to keepe you from perswasion against your naturall good inclynation. But in the meane tyme I cannot chose (having my senses) but perceive very evell furderance in my matters, sence my comming hither. I thought that I had sufficiently discourcid unto yow the discommodities which this delay bringeth unto me. And spetially, that they[a] think in this next moneth of August, to hold a Parlement against me and all my servants. And in the meane tyme I am stayde heere, and yet will you that I shuld put my self further into your Contrey (without seeing you) and remoove me further from myne: and there to do

godly Meditation of the Soule, concerning a Love towardes Christe our Lorde" translated by her from the French. Compare Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, 1806. vol. i. p. 88.

[a] Her rebellious subjects.

me this dishonnor at the requestes of my Rebelles, as to send Commissioners to heere theim against me, as you wold do to a meane subject; and not heere me by mouth. Now Madame, I have promised you to come to you: and having there made my mone and complaint of those Rebelles, and they comming thither not as possessers but as subjectes to answer, I wold have besought you to heere my justification of that which they have faulsly set furth against me: and if I could not purge myself therof, you might then discharge your handes of my causes, and let me go for such as I am. But to do as you say, if I wer coulpable, I wold be better advised. But being not so, I cannot accept this dishonnor at their handes, that being in possession they will comme and accuse me before your Commissioners, wherof I cannot lyke. And seeing you think it to be against your honor and cousynage to do otherwise, I beseech you that you will not be myne enemye untill you may see how I can discharge my self every waye. And to suffre me to go into France where I have a dowery to mainteyn me; or at the least to go into Scotland, with assurance that if there come any strangers thither, I will bynd my self for their retourne without any prejudice to you. Or if it please you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute it to falshode if I receyve strangers in my contrey, wythout makyng you any other discharge for it. Do with my body at your will, the

honnor or blame shalbe yours. For I had rather dy heere, and that my faythfull servants may be succourid (though you wold not so) by strangers, then to suffer theim to be utterly undon upon h . .[a] to receyve in tyme to come particuler commodite. There be many things that moove me to feare that I shall have to doo in this contrey with other then with yow. But forasmuch as nothing hath followed upon my last mone, I hold my peace. Happen what may happe, I have as leef to abyde my fortune, as to seeke it and not fynde it. Further, it pleased you to gyve lycence to my subjects to go and come. This hath ben refusid me by my Lord Scroope and M^r^ Knolles (as they say) by your commandement, because I wold not depart hence to your charge untill I had answer of this Lettre; though I shewed them that yow requyred my answer upon the two pointz conteyned in your Lettre. Th'one is (to let you breefly understand them) I am come to you to make my mone to you; the which being heard, I would declare unto you myne innocency, and then requyre your ayde. And for lack therof I cannot but make my mone and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarell; and to appele to other Princes to have respect therunto, as my case requyreth; and to you Madame first of all, when you shall have examynid your conscience before and have him for witnes: and th'other, which

[a] *f.* hit.

is to come further into your Contrey, and not to come to your presence: I will esteeme that as no favor, but will take it for the contrary: obeying it as a thing forced.

In the meane tyme I beseech yow to retourne to me my Lord Heris, for I cannot be without him, having none of my counsell heere; and also to suffre me, if it please you, without further delay, to depart hence, whither so ever it be, out of this Contree. I am sure you will not deny me this simple request for your honor's sake, seing it doth not please you to use your naturall goodnes towards me otherways. And seeing that of myne accord I am come hither, let me depart againe with yours. And if God permit my causes to succeede well, I shalbe bownd to you for it; and happeninge otherwise, yet I cannot blame you.

As for my lord Flemin, seeing that upon my credit you have suffred him to goo home to his house, I warrant you he shall passe no further, but shall retoorne when it shall please you. In that you trust me I will not (to dy for it) deceave you: but from Donbertran, I answer not, when my L. Flemyn shalbe in the Towr; for they which ar within it will not let to receive soucours, if I do not assure theim of yours. No, though you wold charge me withall. For I have left them in charge to have more respect to my servants and to myne estat, then to my life.

Good suster be of an other mynde. Wyn the

hart, and all shalbe yours, and at your commandment. I thought to satisfy you holely, if I might have seene you. Alas do not as the serpent that stoppeth his heering, for I am no inchanter, but your suster and naturall cousyne. If Cesar had not disdaynid to heere or reede the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so dyed. Why should Prince's eares be stopped, seeing they are payntid so long; meaning that they shuld heere all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and lesse of the camelions, to turne you to my lykenesse: and though I shuld be so dangerouse and curst as men say, yow ar sufficiently armyd with constance, and with justice, which I requyre of God, who give you grace to use it well, with longe and happy lyfe. From Carlile this vth. of July 1568.

Your good suster and cousyne

MARYE R.

LETTER CXCV.

The Lord Herrys to Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 149. *Orig.*]

QUHEN thair was no laws minstrat[a] upone the Marches bot suir I am thair is thrys alsmekill stowin[b]

[a] ministred. [b] as much stollen.

out of Scotland as out off Ingland. And quhair it is said yat ony proud Attemptat is meint to be maid upone Ingland be ony that now obeyes our maistres, it is maist wntrew[a] and inventit to displesour ye Quenis Ma^tie of Ingland, as thay do mony sik things to sett fordwart thair awin torns[b]. Bot God ẏ^t is the author of trewt will not latt the trewt alwayes w^t falfett[c] be exprest. And thus committing zo^r LL. to his divyne protection I tak my leif for ye pn't. Off Drūfres ye xvij of August 1568.

Your LL. assurit to comand
att my power leiffullie

HERYS.

To the Ryt honorables and my weric gud Lordis My Lord Scrop and Maister . . . . . Lord of the Quenis majesteis moist honorable privie Counsaile.

LETTER CXCVI.

Mary Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys, from Bolton, Sept. 1st 1568: her first Letter in English.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. I. fol. 161 b. *Orig.*]

*** The Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, when written in her own hand, are almost uniformly in French. She was not six years old when she sailed from the Clyde for France. She arrived at Brest on August 13th. 1548. After passing a few days at Court, she was conveyed to a

[a] untrue. [b] their own turns. [c] safety.

Nunnery for education, and there remained till the time of her marriage with the Dauphin. Her acquaintance with her native language, at least till her return to Scotland in 1561, must have been slight; though M^r. George Chalmers says that at the opening of the Parliament of May 1563, *she delivered a speech in her native language*[a].

From the following Letter it is evident that she studied English very soon after her removal from Carlisle to Bolton; Sir Francis Knollys undertaking himself to instruct her. Nicholas White, who had been sent to Tutbury to talk with Mary, writes thus to Sir William Cecil, Feb. 28^th^. 1569:

"This much past, she harde the English sarvice with a Booke of the Psalmes in Englishe in hir hand, which she showed me after. When sarvice was done, hir Grace fell in talke with me of sundry matters from six to seven of the Clocke, beginning first to excuse her ILL ENGLISHE, declaring hir self more willing then apt to lerne that language; howe she used translations as a meane to attayn it; and that M^r. Vice Chamberlayn was hir good scole-master"[b].

MESTER KNOLEIS, y heuu har[c] sum neus from Scotland; y send zou the double off them y vreit[d] to the quin[e] my gud sister, and pres[f] zou to du the lyk, conforme to that y spak zesternicht vnto zou, and sut hesti ansur y refer all to zour discretion, and wil lipne beter in zour gud delin[g] for mi[h], nor y kan persuad zou, nemli in this langasg[i] excus my iuel vreitin[k] for y neuuer vsed it afor, and am hestet[l]. Ze schal si my bel[m] vhuilk[n] is opne, it is sed Seterday my unfrinds wil bi vth[o] zou, y sey nething bot trests weil, and ze send oni to zour wiff ze mey asur her schu[p] wald a bin weilcom to apur[q] strenger, hua[r] nocht bien[s] aquentet vth[o] her, wil nocht bi ouuer bald[t] to vreit

[a] Life of Mary, Q. of Sc. vol. i. p. 163. [b] Haynes's State Papers, p. 510.
[c] I have heared. [d] wrote. [e] Queen. [f] pray. [g] dealing.
[h] me. [i] language. [k] writing. [l] hasted. [m] bill.
[n] quhilk. [o] with. [p] she. [q] a poor. [r] who.
[s] not being. [t] bold.

bot for the aquentans betuix ous[a]. Y wil send zou letle tekne[b] to rember[c] zou off the gud hop y heuu[d] in zou, guef[e] ze fend[f] a mit[g] mesager y wald wysh ze bestouded[h] it reder[i] apon her non[k] ani vder; thus effter my commendations y prey God heuu[d] zou in his kipin.

Zour asured gud frind

Excus my iuel vreitin thes furst tym.

MARIE R.

Queen Mary's predilection for the French tongue is observable upon many occasions. Even James her son corresponded with her in it. One of his Letters to her in that language will occur hereafter.

In the Anthologie Françoise, tom. i. p. 19. we have the following Chançon of her composition, written upon her quitting France in 1561.

"Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie la plus cherie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France, adieu mes beaux jours.
La Nef qui dé-joint nos amours,
N'a cy de moi que la moitié;
Une part te reste, elle est tienne;
Je la fie à ton amitié
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne."

LETTER CXCVII.

Bernard Randolph Common Serjeant of London, to Sir William Cecil, upon the practice of a Game called Rifling.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 11. *art.* 22. *Orig.*]

Righte honorable, after my humble duetie to your Honor remembred, pleasethe the same to be adver-

[a] Us: i. e. herself and Sir Francis Knolles. [b] a little token. [c] remember. [d] have. [e] gif, if. [f] find. [g] meet. [h] bestowed. [i] rather. [k] than.

tised that I (allthough most unworthie) being by dyvysion lymytted under your honor and Mr Deane to the Citie of Westminster and lyberties of the same, aswell for thexamynacion of rogues and sturdye vagabondes and masterlesse men, as also for to punyshe other enormyties and mysdemeanors theare; to the whiche precincte above other in the Shire, in th'absence of your honor (and the said Mr Deane) I thinck myself more bounden to have a vigillant eye then if the same Mr Deane weare at home, or your honor somewhat nearer. And repayring thither this daye (as comonlie I doo but ones everye fortenight yf I have no especial cause), but this is the thirde tyme of my goinge thither, to examyn a lewde persone whioe hathe stolen diverse parcells of brass and copper that did adorne the Tombe of the late Kinge of famouse memorie Henrie the Seventhe and Queene Elizabeth his wife. And at my nowe comynge thither Mr Staunton and others of th'inhabitants of the said Cytie, gave me to understande thatt there was a greate disorder in or near Long Acre, by reason of certain Games that were proclaymed there to be exercised, wheare indede theare was none used but one onlie Game, called Riflinge, by which they saide diverse persons weare spoyled and utterlie undon. Wheruppon I comaunded Mr Colbrande the highe Constable of the saide Cytie and Lyberties (taking with hym suche nomber of petit constables and others

as to his discression sholde seme mete, and sendinge before worde to the constable of S^{t} Gyles in the fieldes to mete hym theare) to goe thither, and not onlie to apprehende all persones that sholde be founde theare usinge the same game, but also them that kepte the same games. And I my self went also thither for the quieter apprehendinge of them, for I was informed by the said M^{r} Staunton that theare was a very greate nomber, and the nomber I thinck was muche the greater by reasone of the concourse of people thither to se one lyinge theare that was slayne theare this mornyng. Wheruppon the Keper of the same Games was broughte before me, but none of them that played theare: and yet one of my owne Servants, whom I sent pryvylie thither for that purpose, did see that game of Ryflinge in use theare at that tyme. But I thincke pryvie warnynge was gyven when I was perceyved to bende my selfe that waye. Maye it please your Honor, I commytted the Keper of the same Game to warde, meanynge nevertheles uppon sute to bayle hym untill the general Sessions. And forasmuche as he is one of the Quene's Majestie's Servants, and hathe a Lycence for laufull Games signed by th'andes of the right honorables the Lorde Stewarde, the Lorde of Arrundell, and the Lorde of Leicester (the copye wherof I have taken and intende to kepe the same), and he was in tymes past servant to the saide Lorde of Arrundell. And for that before

this tyme I have had some stoute and sharpe wordes when I have don even favorable justice to honorable mens servants, and doubting what synister complainte may be now againste me to any of honorable personages abovenamed, I have thought good to make your Honor pryvie of this my doinge, humblie praying your good Honor's ayde if I shall have nede of the same. And beinge verie sorie to trouble your Honor with this my longe rude Lettre, I comytt the same to the tuyssion of the Allmightie whoe ever preserve you in helthe and welthe longe to contynue, with increase of much honor. Written the fourth of this September 1569.

Your Honor's to commande to my little power

BERNARD RANDOLPH,

Commen Serjiant of London.

To the right bonorable Sir William Cecyll Knight, principall Secretarie to the Quene's Majestie be theis gyven withe good spede.

LETTER CXCVIII.

Bishop Grindal to Sir William Cecil, announcing the Death and Funeral of Bishop Bonner.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. XI. *art.* 64. *Orig.*]

*** Little need be said here of Edmond Bonner, except that he was elected bishop of London in 1539, and was deprived by two several Commissions bearing date the 8th. and 17th. of September 1549. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, "when the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard,

except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity" [a].

Bishop Grindal, the writer of this Letter, was one of our earliest horticulturists. His Grapes at Fulham, mentioned in the postscript, are stated by Strype to have been esteemed of that value, and a fruit the Queen stood so well affected to, and so early ripe, that the bishop used every year to send her Majesty a present of them [b].

SIR,

As I dowbte nott butt ye have hearde off D. Boners deathe, so thinke I it goode to certifie you off the order off his buriall. The sayde D. Bonner hadde stande excommunicate by a sentence in the Arches eight or nine yeares, and never desyred absolution; wherfore, by the lawe, Christiane sepulture mighte have ben denyed him: butt we thowghte nott goode to deale so rigorouslye, and therfore permitted him to be buried in S. Georges churche yarde: and the same to be doone nott in the daye solemnely, butt in the nighte privilye: which I and some other with whome I conferred thowghte requisite in thatt persone, for two causes. One was, I hearde that diverse his popishe cousins and frendes in London assembled them selfes, entendynge to honor his funeralle so moche as they cowlde: off which honor suche a persequutor was nott worthye, and speciallye in these dayes. Another was, for thatt I feared that the people off the Cittie (to whome Bonner in his liffe was most odiouse) iff they hadde seene flockynge off Papistes

[a] Hume, Hist Engl. and Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374. [b] Life of Bishop Grindal, p. 146.

abowte his coffin, the same beynge well decked and covered, &c, they wolde have ben mooved with indignation, and so some quarrellynge or tumulte mighte have ensued therupon. By his nighte buriall both the inconveniences have ben avoydette, and the same generally her well lyked. Whatt shalle be judged off it att the Courte I can nott tell; it is possible the reporte off his buriall shalle nott ther be made trulye: but this I write unto you is the verie truthe.

* * * * *

From Fulham, 9°. Septembr. 1569.

Yo^r^ in Christe

My Grapes this yeare are not yett rype; abowte the ende off the nexte weeke I hoope to sende some to the Queen's Ma^tie^.

EDM. LONDON.

To the right honorable S^r^. William Cecill knighte Secretarie to the Quenes Ma^tie^.

LETTER CXCIX.

Letter of pass, from the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to their adherents, during the Insurrection of 1569.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. IX. fol. 405. *Orig.*]

*** For an Account of the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569, the reader is referred to Camden's Annals of

Queen Elizabeth. Northumberland having fled into Scotland and been betrayed, was beheaded at York August 22d. 1572. Westmoreland, says Camden, "found a lurking place with Carr of Ferniherst, and Buchluy, and at length escaped with some Englishmen into the Netherlands, where he led a very poor life, even to his old age, living upon a very slender pension from the Spaniard."

THEIS shalbe to will and commaund yow to permytt and suffer this berar Jelberd Havers to passe and repasse from place to place wher his busynes lyeth, without lett or truble of yow or any of yow, as yow will awnswere the contrary at your perill. From Dursham this xvth of Decembre 1569.

NORTHUMBERLAND. C. WESTMERLANDE.

To all and every the servants, tenents, and adherents of th'Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, ther ffrynds, confederats, and allies.

LETTER CC.

Letter of Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, for putting two of the Duke of Norfolk's Servants to the rack.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. III. fol. 229. *Orig.*]

*** The criminal enterprizes of the Duke of Norfolk to obtain the liberty of the Queen of Scots, are fully detailed by most of the Historians of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Numerous Letters, and other materials relating to this subject, are also to be found in Murdin's Collection of the Burghley Papers.

The following Letter of warrant from Queen Elizabeth, permitting the TORTURE to be applied to the Duke's servants, Barker and Banister, is somewhat curious. It is remarkable that the body of the Letter is in the hand-writing of Lord Burghley.

That the Torture was applied seems certain. Two days subsequent to the date of this Letter, Sir Thomas Smith writes thus to Lord Burghley from St. Katherine's, respecting Barker's, Banister's, and the other examinations.

"I suppose we have gotten so much as at this time is like to be had: yet tomorrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the Rack, not in any hope to get any thing worthy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly commanded to us. As for Barker, I thynk he hath and will confess so much as his wit will serve him; and yet, as it appeareth, hath been the most doer betwixt the Duke and other foreign practisers. Banister is somewhat obstinate, but little he knoweth. We send you his, Barker's, Higford's, and Charles's examinations more than you have had already. I pray you trust that tomorrow we will do what we can do"[a].

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved we grete yow well, and fyndyng in the traytoroos attempts lately discovered that nether Barker nor Bannister the Duke of Norfolks men have uttred ther knolledg, nother will discover the same without torture; forasmuch as the knolledg herof concerneth our suerty and estate, and that they have untruly allredy answered, We will and by warrant herof authoriss you to procede to the furder examynation of them uppon all poynts that you can thynk by your discretions mete for knolledg of the truth. And, they shall not seme to yow to confess playnly ther knolledg, than we warrant yow to cause them both, or ether of them, to be brought to the rack:

[a] Murdin's State Papers, p. 95.

and first to move them with feare therof to deale playnly in ther answers, and if that shall not move them than yow shall cause them to be putt to the rack, and to find the tast therof untill they shall deale more playnly, or untill yow shall thynk mete. And so we remitt the whole procedyng to your furder discretion, requiryng yow to use spede herin and to require the assistance of our Lieutenant of the Toure. Gyven under our signet the xvth of Septemb. 1571.

To o^{r} trustie and right well beloved Counsellors S^{r}. Thomas . . yth K^{t}. and to o^{r}. . . . . tie and welbeloved Doctor . . . son one of the Masters of our Requestes.

Indorsed

Receaved at the Towir the xvj. daie of 7^{ber}. at eleven of the clocke in the forenoone 1571.

LETTER CCI.

Queen Elizabeth to Lord Burghley, to stay the execution of the Duke of Norfolk. A. D. 1572.

[MS. MUS. ASHMOL. OXON. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

*** Carte informs us, from Fenelon's Despatches, that Queen Elizabeth revoked no fewer than four warrants for the Duke of Norfolk's execution.

"Having signed, on Friday, February 8th," he says, "a warrant for the Duke's execution the next day, she countermanded it about eleven at night; and having signed another on February the 27th, revoked it the next morning, two hours before day. Two other warrants were afterwards signed, the last of them on Thursday April 10th; but both revoked in the same manner"[a].

The last Letter of revocation was the one which is now placed before the Reader.

My Lord me thinkes that I am more beholdinge to the hindar part of my hed than wel dare trust the forwards side of the same, and therfore sent to the Levetenant and the S., as you knowe best, the Ordar to defar this execution till the[b] here furdar. And that this may be done I doubte nothing, without curiositie of my further warrant, for that ther rasche determination upon a very unfit day was countermaunded by your considerat admonition. The causes that move me to this ar not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable dede be in mene while committed. If the[b] wyl nides a Warrant, let this suffice, all written with my none hand.

Your most lovinge Soveraine

ELIZABETH R.

Indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand.

xj. Apl. 1572.

The Q. Maty with hir own hand, for staying of the Execution of the D. N.

R. at 2 in the Morning.

Carte ascribes these successive revocations of the Duke of Norfolk's execution to dissimulation on the part of the Queen, till the House of Com-

[a] Carte, vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

[b] they.

mons by a violent address should sanction her severity. Hume seems to doubt whether she might not really have been moved by friendship and compassion toward a peer of the Duke of Norfolk's rank and merit. And he is perhaps supported by Lord Burghley himself, who, in a Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, who was then our ambassador at Paris, dated June 9th. 1572, intimates that the Queen was "SOMEWHAT SAD" at the Duke of Norfolk's death. He says, "As to your Letters to her Majesty, for as much as the Duke of Norfolk had suffered upon Monday and your Letters came on Tuesday, I thought not amisse to tell the Queen's Majesty that I had Letters from You to Her, which I thought were onely to shew her the opinion of wise men and her Majesty's well willers in France, both for the Scottish Queen and the Duke of Norfolk; whereupon she bad me open the Letters, and so I did in her presence, and she being SOMEWHAT SAD for the Duke of Norfolks death, I took occasion to cut off the raging thereof, and so entered into speech of the Queen of Scots, which she did not mislike, and commended your care and diligence"[a].

The Duke of Norfolk was the first nobleman who was beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

LETTER CCII.

Sir Nicholas Bacon to Lord Burghley.

[MS. LANSD. N° XIV. *art.* 79. *Orig.*]

*** A few Letters now present themselves, illustrative of the feelings of some of Queen Elizabeth's subjects when they heard that her Majesty had vouchsafed to honor them with a Visit during her Progresses: from which it will be readily gathered how inconvenient to many these Progresses must have been. The chronological order which has hitherto been strictly observed in these Volumes, is a little trespassed upon here, that the various Letters on the same subject may be brought together.

Lord Keeper Bacon, it will be seen, rejoiced much at the report that her Majesty intended him so great an honor; but owned himself quite a novice in receiving Royalty.

The Earl of Bedford thought two nights and a day quite sufficient for the Visitation at Woburn; and hinted to Lord Burghley that he had made preparation for no longer time.

[a] Harl. MS. 260. fol. 250.

Archbishop Parker was one of the few who seemed thoroughly pleased at one of these intended Visits. A thought struck him to make it subservient to the promotion of the Protestant Religion. His Letter will be read with peculiar interest.

Lord Leicester, writing to the Earl of Sussex in 1577 says, "We all do what we can to persuade" her Majesty "from any Progress at all."

It is quite evident that the Queen was fickle: and frequently gave but short notice of what part of the Country she chose to visit.

Lord Buckhurst, who expected to receive her Majesty at Lewes in 1577, was so forestalled, in respect of provisions, by other noblemen, in Sussex and the adjoining counties, that he was obliged to send for a supply from Flanders.

When M^r. Hickes, Lord Burghley's Secretary, was married, the Queen hinted that she would honor *him*. Hickes wrote to a friend at Court to ask the Lord Chamberlain what preparation he should make, evidently fearing the expense. The Lord Chamberlain's advice was, to go out of the house and leave it to the Queen. He simply wished that M^rs Hickes should present her Majesty with some trifling present. But the Letters will speak for themselves.

It is not generally known, that much as these Visits sometimes put the Queen's subjects to expense, the cost of them to the public Treasury was also a matter of deep concern. Lord Burghley's calculations upon this subject, fairly amounting to a remonstrance, are still extant.

Among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the Museum, Num. 16. art. 52. is "An Estimate of increase of Chardgies in the time of Progresse which "should not be if her Majestie remeynid at her Standing Howses within "xx. myles of London; collected out of the Creditors of the last Pro-"gresse Anno xv^to. Reginæ Elizabeth." A. D. 1573. It is altered and corrected in Lord Burghley's hand. The increase of charges caused by the Progress appears to have amounted in the whole to £1084. 0s. 6d.

Lord Burghley, it is probable, would have been personally glad if the Progresses could have been altogether dispensed with. The Queen's visits to him were extremely frequent. His Lordship's treatment of the Queen's suite when she went to Theobald's, seems not to have been generally acceptable to the Visitors. In more than one Letter we find the writers vexed when they learned they were to go there.

After my hartie comendacions, understonding by comen speche that the Quenes Ma^tie meanes to come to my Howse, and knowyng no certentie of the tyme

of her comyng nor of her aboade, I have thowght good to praye you that this bearer my servaunt might understond what you knowe therin; and yf it be trewe, then that I might understond your advise what you thinke to be the best waye for me to deale in this matter: ffor, in very deede, no man is more rawe in suche a matter then my selfe. And thus wisshing to yo^r L. as to my self, I leave any further to trowble you at this tyme. From my Howse at Gorhamburie the xij^th of Julie 1572.

Yo^r L. assured

N. BACON.

I have wreten thys bycause I wold gladly take that cours that myght best pleas her Ma^tie which I knowe not how better to understond then by yo^r help.

To my very good L.
the L. of Burghley.

LETTER CCIII.

The Earl of Bedford to Lord Treasurer Burghley.

[MS. LANSD. N°. xiv. art. 80. *Orig.*]

AFTER my hartie comendacions to yo^r good Lordshippe, here enclosed I sende you a Lettre of M^r. As-

shetones which shuld have bene delyvered some dayes sythens.

* * * * * *

I am now going to prepare for her Ma^ties coming to Woborne, which shalbe done in the best and most hartiest maner that I can. I trust yo^r L. will have in remembraunce to provide and helpe that her Ma^ts tarieng be not above two nights and a daye; for, for so long tyme do I prepare. I pray god the Rowmes and Lodgings there may be to her Ma^ts contentacion for the tyme. If I could make them better upon suche a sodeyn, then wold I, be assured. They should be better then they be. So w^t my hartie thanks to yo^r good L. remayning alwayes as I have just cause yo^rs, do so committ you to Gods keping. From Russell House this xvj^th of July 1572.

Yo^r L. right assured

F. BEDFORD.

To my verie good Lord the
Lord Burghley, Highe
Treasurer of England.

LETTER CCIV.

Archbishop Parker to Lord Treasurer Burghley.

[MS. LANSD. N° 17. *art.* 44. *Orig.*]

S^r

GLADLIE woulde I doe all the service I coulde to the Quenes Ma^tie and to all her Nobelles, with the

rest of her most honorable householde. I have no other counsell to followe, but to searche out what service my Predecessors have bin wont to doe. My ofte distemperance and infirmitie of bodye, maketh me not to doe so muche as I woulde. If her Ma^tie would please to remayne in myne house, her Highnes shoulde have convenient roume: and I coulde place for a Progresse-tyme yo^r L. my L. Chamberlaine, my L. of Leicester, and M^r Hatton, if he come home: thinking that yo^r LL. will furnishe the places with yo^r owne stuffe. They saye myne house is of an evill ayer, hanging upon the churche, and having no prospect to loke on the people: but yet I truste the convenience of the building would serve. If her Highnes be mynded to kepe in her owne Pallace at S^t Austens, then might yo^r LL. be otherwise placed in the Houses of the Deane and certaine Prebendaries. M^r Lawse, prebendarie, would faine have yo^r L. in his convenient house, trusting the rather to doe yo^r L. now service, as he did once in teaching a Grammer schole in Stanford by your appoyntment; M^r Bungey also would be glad to have your L. in his lodging, where the French Cardinall laye; and his house is fayer and sufficient. M^r Peerson would as gladlie have yo^r L. in his fine house, most fitt for yo^r L. if you thinke so good.

The Custome hathe bin when Princes have come to Caunterbury, the Bishopp, the Deane, and the

Chapter, to waite at the West end of their Churche, and so to attend on them: and there to heare an Oration. After that her Highnes may goe under a canapie, till she commeth to the middest of the churche, where certaine prayers shalbe sayde: and after that to wayte on her Highnes through the Quier, up to the Traverse next to the Communyon table, to heare the Evensonge, and so afterwardes to depart to her owne lodging. Or els upon Sonday following, if it be her pleasure, to come from her house of S^t^ Austens by the newe Bridge, and so to enter the West end of the Churche, or in her Coche by the streate. It would much rejoyce and stablishe the people here, in this Religion, to see her Highnes that Sondaye (being the first Sonday of the moneth, when others also customablie may receive) as a godlie devoute Prince, in her chiefe and metropoliticall Churche, openly to receive the Communyon: which by her favor I would minister unto her. *Plurima sunt magnifica et utilia, sed hoc unum est necessarium.* I presume not to prescribe this to her Highnes, but, as her trustie chapleyn, shewe my judgement. And after that Communyon, yt might please her Ma^tie^ to heare the Deane preache, sitting either in her Traverse, or else to suffer him to goe to the common Chapter, being the place of Sermons, where a greater multitude should heare. And yet her Highnes might goe to a verie fitt place, with some of her lordes and ladyes, to be there in a con-

venient closett above the heades of the people to heare the sermon.

And after that, I would desier to see her Highnes at her and myne house for the dynner following. And if her Highnes will give me leave, I would kepe my bigger hall that daye for the Nobelles, and the rest of her trayne. And if it please her Ma^tie she maye come in throughe my gallerie, and see the disposicion of the Hall, in dynner tyme, at a windowe opening thereinto.

I pray yo^r L. be not offended thoughe I write unto my L. of Sussex as L. Chamberlayne in some of theis matters as may concerne his office.

I am in preparing for three or fower of my good Lordes some geldinges, and if I knewe whether woulde like you beste, either one for yo^r owne saddle or a fine little white gelding for yo^r fote clothe, or one for one of yo^r gentlemen or yomen, I would so appointe you. And thus trusting to have yo^r counsell, as M^r Deane cometh purposelie for the same, I commyt yo^r honor to Gods tuycion as my self. From my house at Beakesborne nighe to Caunterburie, this xvij^th of Auguste, 1573.

Yo^r L. assured in Christe.

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

To the right honorable his
verie good L. the L. Burleigh,
Highe Treasouror of England.

LETTER CCV.

Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, to the Earl of Sussex, on the expected Visit of the Queen to Lewes.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS B, II. fol. 353. *Orig.*]

MY VERY GOOD LORD.

I besech your Lordship to pardon me yf thus I shall becom troblesome unto you to know some certenty of the Progres, yf it may possibly be. The time of provision is so short, and the desire I have to do all thinges in such sort as appertaineth so great, as I can not but thus importune your Lordship to procure her H. to grow to some resolucion both of the time when her Ma. wilbe at Lewis, and how long her H. will tary theare. For having alredy sent in to Kent, Surrey, and Sussex for provision, I assure your Lordship I find alredy all places possest by my lord of Arundell, my lord Mountague, and others. So, as of fors, I am to send in to Flaunders, which I wold spedely do yf the time of her Ma. coming and tarians with me were certain. I besech your Lordship therefore, yf it may be, let me know by your Lo. favorable means somewhat wherunto to trust, for if her H. shall not presently determin I se not how possibly we may or can perform that towardes her Ma. which is du and convenient

I trust your Lordship will mesure my case by your own; that wold be loth her H. shold com unto you before you were redy to receve her H. to hazard therby your dishonor and her Ma. dislike.

I can but besech of God that the hous do not mislike her; that is my cheif care: the rest shalbe performed with that good hart as I am sure yt wilbe accepted. But yf her H. had taried but on yere longer, we had ben to to happy; but Gods will and hers be doon. 4 Julii 1577.

Your Lo. humble to comaund

T. BUCKEHURST.

To the Right honorable
and my very good Lord,
The Lord Chamberlain
be thes geven.

LETTER CCVI.

The Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Sussex, upon an Invitation given by the latter to Queen Elizabeth in 1577.

[MS. LANSD. N°. XXV. *art.* 28.]

My good Lord, I have shewed your Letter to her Majesty, who did take your great care to have her welcome to your house in most kind and gracious part,

thanking your Lordship many times. Albeit she saith very earnestly, that she wil by no means come this time to Newhal; saying, it were no reason, and less good manners, having so short warning this year to trouble you; and was very loth to have come into these parts at al, but to fly the further from these infected places; and charged me so to let your Lordship know, that by no means she would have you prepare for her this time. Nevertheles, my Lord, for mine own opinion, I believe she wil hunt, and visit your house, coming so neer. Herein you may use the matter accordingly, since she would have you not to look for her.

And now, my Lord, we all do what we can, to persuade from any progress at all, onely to remain at Windsor and therabouts. But it much misliketh her not to go some wher to have change of air. So what will fal out yet I know not, but must like to go forward since she fancieth it so greatly her self. The infection in Oxford and the Cõuntry falleth out to be onely at the Assizes gotten. For none others either of the Town or Country are touched, but those present there at the Gaol delivery. And of al that fel sick few recovered. Nor any that keepeth them or cometh to them take any infection at all. And so God keep your Lordship as I wish myself. In hast this xxx. July

Yr Lordships assured

R. LEYCESTER.

LETTER CCVII.

Henry Maynard to M^r. (afterwards Sir) Michael Hickes, upon the Queen's Progress. A. D. 1597.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 85. *art.* 23. *Orig.*]

M^R MICHAELL,

I PERCEIVE that abowt the middes of the next weke you will be readie to com hether, and by that time the Queen meaneth to be with you, if the iestes hold, w^ch after manie alteracions is so sett downe this daie to be with you on Wednesdaie night, to staie theare all Thorsedaie, on Friday to dine at M^r Kniuetts, and so to Haveringe to bedd. If anie alteracion shall happen as I hope theare will (for wee are greatlie aferd of Theobalds) you shall heare theareof.

From the Court
Aug. 10^th. 1597.

LETTER CCVIII.

Henry Maynard to M^r Hickes upon the same.

[IBID. *art.* 24. *Orig.*]

M^R MICHAELL

I AM sure you herken howe our Progresse proceadeth, for that you are like to be the Queens first

host, and thearefore it shall not neade to write theareof, otherwise I could assure you that at the time of the writinge heareof, theare is no manner of alteracion. It weare thearefore in mine opinion not amisse that you came hither to advise with your frendes better of the matter then you can doe theare. Wee greatlie feare that from Haveringe the Queen will to Theobaldes; but as yett it is not sett downe. I coulde be glad to be gon heare, but this Progresse much trowbleth mee, for that we knowe not what corse the Queen will take.

From the Court
Aug 12th. 1597.

LETTER CCIX.

Henry Maynard to Mr. Hickes with the Lord Chamberlaine's advice.

[MS. LANSD. IBID. *art.* 25. *Orig.*]

MR. HICKES

THEARE is noe alteracion as yet of the Progresse, nor noe conceipt that it will change. This morning I was with my Lord Chamberlaine abowt sum other busines from my Lord, whoe as it semeth had expected your comming to him. I told him you had been heare yesterdaie, and that Mr Bowier appointed to be with yowe this morning whoe would report to

his L^p^ at his retorne the state of yo^r^ howse and lodgings. Sum speeche he had with me towchinge yo^r^ Howse: saienge that he understood that it was scant of lodgings and offices; whereuppon I tooke occasion to tell his L^p^ that it was trewe, and that I conceived it did trowble you that you had noe convenient place to entertaine sum of hir Ma^tles^ necessary servants. His awnsweare was that you weare unwise to be at anie such charge: but onelie to leave the howse to the Quene: and wished that theare might be presented to hir Ma^tie^ from your wief sum fine wastcoate, or fine ruffe, or like thinge, w^ch^ he said would be acceptablie taken as if it weare of great price. He said that two daies since, uppon speeche of yo^r^ Howse, and of yo^r^ mariage, the Q. fell into an exceadinge commendacion of M^r^ Paruis, as that she nevir had such a merchant in hir Kingedome wheareuppon his L^p^ saith that himself and others standinge by gave the like recommendacion to hir of yo^r^ wief. It semeth the time will be two nightes as was first appointed: and thowgh noe speeche be theareof, he vearelie thinketh that she will com to Theobaldes, thowgh she showld remaine theare but three or fower daies. It weare pitie at this time to trowble you with anie other matter.

* * * * * *

And so untill a further occasion I will leave otherwise to trowble yo^u^ than with my hartiest commendacions

to M^rs Hicks. From the Court this xv^th. of August 1597.

Yo^rs most assuredlye

H. MAYNARD.

To my assured good frend and fellowe, M^r. Michaell Hickes Esq^r.

In the Extracts from Smith's Lives of the Berkeley family, it is said that Queen Elizabeth, in her Progress, in the fifteenth year of her reign, "came to Berkeley Castle what time" Henry Lord Berkeley the then possessor "had a stately game of red deer in the park adjoining, called The Worthy, whereof Henry Ligon was keeper: during which time of her being there, such slaughter was made as twenty-seven staggs were slain in the toils in one day, and many others, on that and the next, stolen and havocked: whereof, when this Lord, being then at Callowdon[a], was advertised, having much set his delight in this game, he suddenly and passionately disparked that ground; but in a few months after, he had a secret friendly advertisement from the Court, 'that the Queen was informed how the same was so 'disparked by him, on repining at her coming to his house, (for indeed it 'was not in her jests,) and at the good sport she had had in the park'; advising this Lord to cary a wary watch over his words and actions, least thus that Earl (meaning Leicester) that had, contrary to her set justice, drawn her to his castle, and purposely had caused that slaughter of his deere, might have a further plot against his head and that castle, whereto he had taken no small liking, and affirmed to have good title thereto, and was not far from his manor of Wotton, lately recovered against him." [b]

LETTER CCX.

Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, upon the Appointment of Nave to be Secretary to the Queen of Scots.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 47. *Orig.*]

*** Roulet, who had previously been Secretary to the Queen of Scots, as we learn from a letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury to S^r. Francis Walsingham, died August 30^th. 1574.

[a] Another of his Seats. [b] Fosbrooke's Berkeley Manuscripts, pp. 203, 204.

ELIZABETH R. By the Queen.

RIGHT trusty and right welbelovid Cosin and Counsellor we greete yow well. Whereas the Queene of Scotts hath ben destitute of a Frenche Secretary sens the deathe of Rollet, and hath by her awne lettres, and by meanes out of France, desyred us to suffer an other to come and supplye that place about her; which we have hitherto forborne to graunt, for dyvers good causes, and emong other, for the evell offices whiche her other Secretary did there, wherof yow ar not ignorant. Now forasmuche as the bearer hereof, called de Naou, a Frencheman, hath ben chosen and recommended to us by our brother the Frenche King, with request that he may gooe to her and serve her as her Secretary, and hath promised that he shall carye himself in that even maner that becommeth an honest mynister, nor shall practise any hurtfull or offensyve thing, which he himself hath also vowed and promisid heere, with offer that if he shall at any tyme be fownd fawtye, he submittith him self to any punishment: Upon these respects, and at her earnest request, we ar pleased that the said de Naou shall resort thither and abyde with her as her Secretary. And so our pleasour is yow shall receave him into her company, and suffer him to serve her in that place; admonishing him now, at his entrey, and also herafter, to have consideracion of the caution whiche our said brother the Frenche King hath gyven

us for him; and also of his awne promes, as he will avoyd the danger wherin he hath condempnid himself, if he shalbe herin fownd faultye. Geven vnder our Signet at our Mannor of Saint James the xxixth of Marche, 1575. in the xvijth yere of our Reign.

To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cosin and Counsellor, the Erle of Shreusbury, Erle-Marshall of England.

LETTER CCXI.

Nicholas White to Lord Burghley, giving an account of the last sickness and death of Walter Earl of Essex.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. XXI. num. 83. *Orig.*]

*** Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, to whose death this Letter relates, commanded the army which was sent against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569. In 1572, he went to Ireland to quell the insurrection of O'Neale, and was placed in the Government of Ulster. He was subsequently recalled, by court intrigues, when in the midst of successes. Dugdale, in his Baronage, says that "by the contrivance of the Earl of Leicester he was again sent into Ireland, with the airy title of Earl-Marshal of that realm; where, with great grief of mind, he died of a flux, 22^{d} Sept. 1576. 18 Eliz. but not without suspicion of poison; and was buried at Caermarthen in South Wales. Which suspicion did the more augment, by reason that the Earl of Leicester then forsook the Lady Douglas Sheffield (his wife as was believed by many) by whom he had a son; and more openly shewed his love to the Lady Lettice the widow of the deceased Earl; whom though (as 'twas said) he had privately married, her father Sir Francis Knolles, who well took notice of Leicester's wandring affections, would not give credit to it, until in the presence of some witnesses besides himself, and a public notary, he had regularly taken her to wife"[a].

[a] Dugd. Baron. tom. ii. p. 178.

The suspicion of poison having been administered to the Earl of Essex by Leicester's means, however, seems to be done away by this Letter.

Murdin, in his State Papers, has printed two Letters of the Earl of Essex, one written to Queen Elizabeth, the other to Lord Burghley, immediately before his death, Sept. 20th. and 21st. 1576, chiefly in anxiety for the education and welfare of his son, who was afterwards the Queen's great favourite.

MY DERE GOOD LORD

I RECEAVED by my nephewe your Lordships loving lettres, all written with your awne hande, which were more comfortable to me then I can expresse. I finde in themme a rule to direct me, and a piller wheron to stay me, besyds a confirmation of your accustomed favour towards me, whom your selfe hathe lifted upp from stumbling downe, wherof I and my posteritie shall alwaies cary a loving memory. I will not presume to prohibite your honor to write any thing to the Governor which youe shall thinke good for me; but I suppose he hathe made choise of suche as he thinks fittest to be acquaynted with his platt: and therfore using me but as *tanquam vocatus*, am to require no more, but his indifferency, and favorable acceptation of my best advise in the service of my Prince and Countrey.

Oh my good Lord, here I must emong others advertyse your Lordship of the dolefull departure of Th'Erle of Essex, who ended this life to begyn a better the xxijth of September in the Castell of Dublin and felt his syckues first at Talaghe th'archebisshope

of Dublins house, in his jorney towards Balhuglas to mete Th'Erle of Ormounde accompanyed with the Chauncelor, the last of August.

I was moche abowte him in the later ende of his sycknes, and behelt suche true tokynes of Nobilitie conjoyned with a most godly and vertuos mynde to the yelding upp of his breathe, as is rare to be sene.

Two daies before he died he had speche with me of your Lordship, and sayd he thoght he was borne to do you and your's good. But nowe sayd he I must comytt the oversight of my son and all to him. He likewise spoke lovingly of my Lord of Sussex, with many other things which for prolixitie and otherwise I omytt to write. He doubted that he had bene poysoned by reason of the violent evacuation which he had, and of that suspicion acquitted this Lande, saying no not Tirrelaghe Lunnaghe[a] him selfe wolde do no villany to his person. But upon the openyng of him, which I coulde not abyde, the Chauncelor tolde me that all his inwarde parts were sounde saving that his hart was somewhate consumed, and the blader of his gall empty. Suche as toke upon theme to be his phisicians, as Chaloner, Knell a preacher, and the Deputies phisician called Doctor Trever, applied him with many glisters, and therby filled his body full of winde which was perceyved: so as ether ther ignorance, or some violent cause beyonde ther skill ended

[a] The chief, at that time, of the rebel bands in Ulster.

his life. His fleashe and complexion did not decay, his memory and speche was so perfitt that, at the last yelding upp of his breathe, he cryed 'Cowradge, Cowradge. I am a soyldor that must fight under the banor of my Savior Christe.' And as he prayed alwaies to be dissolved, so was he lothe to dye in his bed; which made me to remember your Lordship's tale of your Father.

Emong others he had care of my seconde son, which is all this while brought upp with the young Erle his son, without any chardge to me, bicause his mother was a Lenox. And required M^r^ Waterhouse to move your honor that he might still attende on his son and be broght upp with him, wherin I refer his case to your accustomed goodnes.

His Lordship comytted to my keping the patents of his creation and countreyes here: and made me one of his feoffees of Trust. I hope with the Deputie's favour to turne those lands to a reasonable yere comoditie to his son.

I do sende your Lordship here inclosed the names of suche of Th'Erles servaunts as were abowte him in the tyme of his sycknes, and served him moste painfully and diligently; for with respect I thinke them worthy the favor of all men.

It is doubted whate ende the deputie will make of this great sturr in Conaght.

* * * * * *

From S^{t} Kathrins besyds Dublin, this last of September 1576.

Yo^{r} honors moste bounden during life

N. WHITE.

" To the right honnorable my singuler good L. my L. Burghley Lorde Treasurer of Englande."

LETTER CCXII.

William Fleetwood Recorder of London, to Lord Burghley, upon the apprehending of a number of rogues and masterless men in the neighbourhood of London.

[MS. LANSD. 34. *art.* 3. *Orig.*]

*** William Fleetwood, the natural son of Richard Fleetwood, descended from the Fleetwoods of Penwortham in Lancashire, was a lawyer of great eminence in his time; learned; and active as a magistrate. The Earl of Leicester appears to have been his patron.

He became Recorder of London in 1569, and continued in that office till 1591. He was called to the degree of Serjeant in 1580; and in 1592, was made one of the Queen's Serjeants.

While Recorder of London, Serj^{t}. Fleetwood was in the habit of writing weekly Letters to Lord Burghley respecting the transactions of the Police; acquainting him with the crimes which were committed and punished daily, as well as with the chief occurrences in London. One of these Reports is here laid before the reader, and at least shows the activity of the Police upon some occasions.

Serjeant Fleetwood died at his house in Noble Street Aldersgate, February the 28th 1594.

My singuler good Lord, uppon Thursday at even, her Majestie in her Cooche, nere Islyngton, taking of

the aier, her Highnés was environed with a nosmber of Rooges. One Mr Stone a footeman cam in all hast to my Lord Maior, and after to me, and told us of the same. I dyd the same night send warrants owt into the seyd quarters and in to Westminster and the Duchie: and in the mornyng I went a brood my selff, and I tooke that daye lxxiiij. roogs, whereof some were blynd and yet great usurers, and very riche: and the same daye towards night I sent for Mr Harrys and Mr Smithe and the governors of Bridwell, and tooke all the names of the roogs; and sent theym frome the Sessions Hall unto Bridwell where they remayned that night. Upon Twelff daye in the forenoone, the Master of the Rolls, my selff, and others receyved a charge before my Lords of the Counsell as towching roogs and masterles men, and to have a pryvie searche. The same daye at after dyner (for I dyned at the Rolls) I mett the governors of Bridwell, and so that after nowne we examined all the seyd roogs and gave theym substanciall payment. And the strongest we bestowed in the mylne and the lighters. The rest wee desmyssed with a promise of a dooble paye if we mett with theym agayne. Upon Sounday being crastino of the Twelfth daye, I dyned with Mr Deane of Westminster, where I conferred with hym towching Westminster and the Duchie, and then I tooke order for Southwarke, Lambeth, and Newyngton, from whence I receyved a shooll of xl. rooggs, men and women, and

above. I bestowed theym in Bridwell. I dyd the same after nowne peruse Pooles[a], where I tooke abowt xx[ti] cloked roogs that there use to kepe standing. I placed theym also in Bridwell. The next mornyng, being Mounday, the M[r] of the Roolls and the rest tooke order with the Constables for a privie searche ageynst Thursdaye at night, and to have the offendors browght to the Sessions Hall upon Frydaye in the mornyng where wee the Justices shold mete. And agaynst the same tyme my Lo. Maior and I dyd the lyke in London and Sowthworke. The same afternowne the Masters of Bridwell and I mett, and, after every man being examined, eche one receyved his payment according to his deserts; at whiche tyme the strongest were put to worke and the other dismissed into theire Countries. The same daye the M[r] of the Savoye was with us and sayd he was sworne to lodge "*claudicantes, egrotantes, et peregrinantes;*" and the next mornyng I sent the Constables of the Duchie to the Hospitall and they browght unto me at Bridewell vj. tall fellowes that were draymen unto bruers and were neither "*claudicantes, egrotantes,* nor *peregrinantes.*" The Constables if they might have had theyre owen wills wold have browght as many moo. The Master dyd wryte a very curtese letter unto us to produce theym: and although he wrott charitably unto us, yet were they all sowndly payed, and sent home to thare

[a] St. Pauls.

masters. All Tewsday, Weddensdaye, and Thursdaye there cam in nosmbers of roogs; they were rewarded all according to theire deserts. Upon Frydaye mornyng, at the Justice Hall, there were browght in above a C. lewed people taken in the privie searche. The M^rs of Bridwell receyved theym, and immediatly gave theym punishment. This Satterday, after Causes of Consciens herd by my Lord Maior and me, I dined, and went to Polls and in other places as well within the libertes as els where, and I founde not one rooge stirryng. Emongest all these thyngs I dyd note, that we had not of London, Westm. nor Sowthwarke, nor yet Midd. nor Surr. above twelve, and those we have taken order for. The resedew for the most were of Wales, Salop, Cestr. Somerset, Barks, Oxforde, and Essex; and that fewe or none of thaym had ben abowt London above iij. or iiij. mownthes. I dyd note also that we mett not agayne w^th any in all our searches that had receyved punishment. The chieff nurserie of all these evell people is the Savoye, and the brick kilnes nere Islyngton. As for the brick kylnes, we will take suche order that they shall be reformed. And I trust by yo^r good Lordship's help the Savoye shall be amended; for suerlie, as by experiens I fynd it, the same place, as it is used, is not converted to a good use or purpose. And this shall suffice for Roogs.

Upon Weddensdaye last a Frenche merchaunt, in a bagge sealed, delivered to a cariers wiff of Norwich

xl^{li} to be caried to Norwich. She secretlie conveyed the money to a howse a good way off frome the Inne, and within half a quarter of an houre the Frenche merchaunt cam agayne to se his money packed up. But the woman denyed that ever she received any one penny with such horrible protestacions as I never herd of before. M^{r} Secretarie Walsingham wrote me his Letters for the ayde of the Frenche man, and after great searche made, the money was founde and restored. She not knowing of the same, I examined her in my studie privatlie, but by no meanes she wold not confesse the same, but dyd bequeth her selff to the Devell, both bodie and sowle, if she had the money or ever sawe it. And this was her craft that she then had not the money, and in dead she sayd the trowth, for it was eyther at her frynds where she left it, or els delyvered. And then I perceyving her fewke, I asked her whether the Frenche merchant dyd not bring her a bagge sealed full of metall that was weightie, were it either platts, coyne, cownters, or suche lyke: then, quoth she, I will aunswer no further. And then I used my Lo. Maiors advise, and bestowed her in Bridwell, where the Masters and I sawe her punished; and, being well whipped, she sayd that the Devell stood at her elbowe in my studie, and willed her to denye it. But so soon as she was upon the Crosse to be punished he gave her over. And thus my singuler good Lo. I end this tragicall part of this wicked woman.

This mornyng the Deputie of Holborne and two of the Wardmot Enquest browght me this examination. I send for the partie. He was browght before my Lord Maior and me. And we have commanded hym to warde expecting yo^r good Lo. advise as towchinge his offens.

Thus most humbly I send unto yo^r good Lo. this last weeks Diarye, ceasing at this tyme to troble yo^r honor any further. At Bacon howse[a] this 14 of Ja. 1581.

Your good Lo. most bounden

W. FLETEWOODE.

To the right honorable
and my singuler good L.
My Lo. High Treaso^r.
of England.

LETTER CCXIII.

King James the Sixth of Scotland to Queen Mary his mother, expressive of duty.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. VII. fol. 12. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

MADAME j'ay receu la Lettre quil vous à pleu m'escrire laquelle il a pleu à la Royne d'Angleterre ma bonne seur permectre de m'estre envoyée et voy par icelle q'uelle à faict dificulté de vous acorder de m'envoyer ung de voz gens sur le refuz qui fut faict der-

[a] In Foster Lane.

nierement à lung des siens, et suivant le comandement que me faictes. Je lui escrips et mande les occasions pourquoy à ceste heure la je ne peu donner permission que celuy la vint vers moy, non qu'alors mon intention fut pour le refuser du tout, mais seulement le remectre jusques apres que le Parlement, que je tenois, alors, fut parachevé et serois infiniment marry qu'elle eut opinion que je l'eusse faict pour la desdaigner veu que n'ay jaimais eu autre vollonté que de luy demeurer bon parent et voisin, ainsi que je suis delibéré d'estre selon les comandemens, qu'il vous plaist de m'en faire, les quelz et tous autres, dont il vous plaira de m'honorer, vous me trouvverrés tousjours prest à les mectre en execution, et de vous honorer et respecter selon que Dieu me le commande, et que le devoir naturel m'y oblige, et me sera une tres grande consolation, s'il vous plaist de me rendre si heureulx que de m'envoier visiter par l'un des vostres comme me le mandès afin je puisse estre asseuré de vostre bonne prosperité et santé, laquelle apres vous avoir tres humblement baisé les mains je prie Dieu Madame qu'il vous donne tres bonne avecques heureuse et longue vie. De Sterling ce x7ª jour de Juin (1582.)

Vostre tres humble et obedient
filz à jaimais

A la Royne ma mere. JACQUES R.

* h e. 17.

LETTER CCXIV.

Mr Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, with various London News.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 38. *art.* 12. *Orig.*]

RIGHT HONORABLE

SITHENS your Lo. last being here in London there have ben twoo great Feasts, the one at the Grosers-hall, the other at the Haberdashers-hall. At the Haberdashers feast was my Lord Maior, and divers of his brethern, with myselff, where my Lo. Maior after the second course come inne dyd take the great standing Cupp of the gift of Sir William Garrett, being full of Ypocraze, (and silence being commaunded throwgh all the Tables) all men being bare-headed, my Lo. before all men dyd use these words with a convenyent lowd voyce "M^r Recorder of London and yow my good bretherne the Aldermen, beare witnes that I do drynke unto M^r Alderman Massam as Shereff of London and Midd. frome Mighelmas next comming, for one holl yere; and I do beseche God to graunt hym as quiett and peaceable a yere with as good and gratious favor of her Maiestie as I my selff and my brethern the Shereffs now being have hytherto had, and as I trust shall have." This spoken, all men desired the same. The Sword-bearer in hast went to the Grosers

ffeast, where Mr Aldn Massam was at dyner; and there dyd openlie declare the words that my Lo. Maior had used: whereunto (silens made and all being hushe) the Alderman aunswered verie modestlie in this sort; "First I thanke God who through his great goodness haith called me frome a verie poore and meane degree unto this worshipfull estate. Secondlie I thanke her Majestie for her gratious goodnes in allowing unto us these great and ample fraunchises. Thirdlie I thank my Lo. Maior for having so honorable an opinion of this My Companie of Grocers as to make choise of me being a poore member of the same." And this said, bothe he and all the Companie pledged My Lord and gave hym thanks.

Mr. Nowell of the Court haith lately been here in London. He caused his man to geve a blowe unto a carrman. His man haithe stricken the carrman with the pumell of his sword and therwith haith broken his skelle and killed hym. Mr. Nowell and his man are lyke to be indicted; whereof I am sure to be muche trobled, what with lettres and his frynds, and what by other meanes as in the verie like case heretofore I have byn even with the same man. Here are sunderie yonge gentilmen that use the Court that most commonly terme theymselffs *gyntylmen*. When any of these have done any thinge amisse and are compleyned of, or arrested for debt, they then runne unto me, and no other excuse or aunswere can they make but saye.

"*I am a Jyntylman, and being a Jyntylman I am not thus to be used at a slave and a colions handes.*" I know not what other parlee M^r^. Nowell can pled; but this I say, the fact is fowle. God send hym good deliverans. I thinke in my conscience that he makethe no reckenyng of the matter.

Hit was my chaunse to examine a matter in the Court holden at Bridwell. I have ben complayned of to the Counsel bord. I was sent for. M^r^. Secretary received my Aunswer, and told the compleynaunts that they had deserved to be hanged. And this is the Case. Abraham of Abraham a gentilman of an hundred pound land in com. Lanc. put his dawghter and heire unto my lady Gerrerd of the Brenne. Sir Thomas and my lady being here in London, one Dwelles, a fenser nere Cicell howse, and his wiff, by indirect meanes, being of kyn to the girle, dyd invite all my Lady's children and gentilwomen unto a breakfast. They cam thether, and at theire commyng the yowthes and servingmen were caried up to the ffens skolle. My Ladys dowghters and gentilwomen must nedes play at the cardes, will they nill they. The girle Abraham, by the wiff of the howse, was conveyghed in to a chamber, and shut the dowre after her and there left her. The Girl found in the Chamber iiij. or v. tall men. She knew theym not. And ymediatlie the girle fell into a great ffeare seyng them to compasse her about. Then began an old priest to read upon a

booke, his words she understood not, saving these words "I Henry take the Suzane to my wedded wiff" &c. This done they charged the wenche never to discover this to any body lyving: and so sent her downe to her fellowes. And dyner being done the wenche told to her fellowes very lamentably what had ben donne; and they over to S^r Tho. and my La. And upon complaynt I sent for the ffensers wiff who wold confesse nothyng. I went with her my self to Bridwell, where there was a full Court, and thether cam Sir Thomas with the wenche, and there we bolted owt the wholl matter and dyd no more. The ffensers wyff is retorned to the Cownter. The wenche is with my La. Gerrerd. She was never in Bridwell, as the ffenser and one Poollwhele dyd avouche to some of my Lords. The wenche was there to accuse the fensers wiff in open Court. My Lo. this being the fact, and the trew case thereof, I fynd the same to be ffellonie by A^o 3. st. 7. ca. 2. And therefore me thinketh suche companyons as this fenser and his wiff are, owght not to be allowed to deface suche poore men as I am, in suche order, before the Lords. Thus most humbly I take my leave of yo^r good Lo. this 18 of Julie 1583.

Yo^r good Lo. most
bounden
W. FLETEWOODE.

"To the right honorable
and my singuler good
Lord Treasourer of
England."

LETTER CCXV.

Queen Elizabeth to King James the Sixth of Scotland, Aug. 7th 1583; upbraiding him with breaking his word.

[MS. COTTON. JULIUS F. VI. fol. 25.]

AMONGE your manie studies my deare Brother and Coson, I would Isocrates noble lesson weare not forgotten, that wills the Emperor his suvorain to make his words of more accompt then other men theare othes, as metest enseignes to showe the truest bage of a Princes armes. It moveth me much to move you, whan I behold how diversely sondrie wicked pathes, and, like all evill illusions, wrapped under the cloke of your best safety, endanger your state and best good. How maie yt be that yow can suppose an honorabele awneswere maie be made me when all your doings gainesaie your former vowes. You deale not with one whose experience can take drosse for good paiments, nor one that esily will be beguiled. No, No, I mind to sett to schoole your craftiest counsiler. I am sorie to se you bent to wrong youre selfe in thinking to wronge others; yea thos which if thay had not even than taken opertunitie to lett a ruin that was newly begon, that plott would have perilled you more than a thowsand of such mene lives be worth, that perswade you to vouche such deades to deserve a sawles pardon. Why

doe you forgett what you write to myselfe with your owne hand, shewing howe dangerous a course the Duke was entred in, thougth yow excused him sellf to thinke noe harm therin, and yet thay that with your safetie preserved yow from it, yow must seme to give them reproche of gilty folke. I hope you more esteme your honor than to give yt such a staine, since you have protested so often to have taken these Lordes for your most affectionate subjects, and to have done all for your best. To conclude, I besech you passe no further in this cause till you receve an expres messinger, a trusty servant of mine, by whome you shall see plainley yow may receive honor and contentment with more suretie to your rest and state, than all thes dissembling counselors will or can bringe yowe. As knoweth the Lord to whose most safe keping I doe committ yow, with my many commendations to your person.

7 August 1583.

LETTER CCXVI.

Mr. Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Treasurer Burghley upon Sessions Proceedings of the City, a School for Pickpockets in London, &c.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 44. *art.* 38. *Orig.*]

*** The subject of cutpurses, rogues, and masterless men, with the language they assumed in imitation of the Gypsies, was one of no slight interest in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The writer of the Description of England prefixed to the second edition

of Holinshed's Chronicle, describes no fewer than twenty-three sorts, in men and women, of this ungracious rabble. He says, "The several disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds," are, "1. Rufflers; 2. Uprightmen; 3. Hookers, or Anglers; 4. Roges; 5. Wild Roges; 6. Priggers, or Pransers; 7. Palliards; 8. Fraters; 9. Abrams; 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip-jacks; 11. Dummerers; 12. Drunken tinkers; 13. Swadders, or Pedlars; 14. Jarkemen, or Patricoes. Of women kind; 1. Demanders for glimmer or fire; 2. Baudie Baskets; 3. Mortes; 4. Autem Mortes; 5. Walking Mortes; 6. Doxes; 7. Delles; 8. Kinching Mortes; 9. Kinching Cooes."

These several personages, together with the nice differences of their respective callings, are explained in a tract entitled "The Groundworke of Conny-Catching," a thin quarto, printed at London without date, but apparently written about the year 1566. The reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, indeed, abound in publications of a similar description; coarse in their language and scenes, but singularly illustrative of populaf manners. Among these, perhaps, the works of Robert Green and Thomas Dekker stand foremost. "The Belman of London, bringing to light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdom" 4to. by Dekker, went through numerous editions. It was followed by "Lanthorn and Candle-Light; or the Bell-Mans Second Nights Walke:" in which is a Canter's Glossary. From a passage in the first of these works we learn that some of our thieves, even at that time, obtained their instruments "from Italy, made of steele: some," the author adds "are made here in England by smiths that are partners and partakers in their villainous occupations." See also "Martin Mark-all, beadle of Bridewell, his Defence and Answere to the Belman of London: by S. R." 4°. Lond. 1610; in which the Canting Dictionary is amended and enlarged. Another curious Work on this subject will be found in "A notable Discovery of Coosnage," 4° Lond. 1591.

RIGHT honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdaye laste beinge the crastinn of Trinitie Terme, we kepte a Sessions of Inquyrie in London in the forenone, and in the afternone we kepte the lyke att Fynsburie for Middlesex, in which two severall Sessionses all such as were to be arrayegned for felonye at the Gaole deliverye were indyted. Uppon Frydaie last we sate at the Justice hall att Newgate from vij in the morninge untill vij att night, where were condempned

certen horstealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the nusmber of x., whereof ix. were executed, and the tenthe stayed by a meanes from the Courte. These were executed uppon Saterdaye in the morninge. There was a Showmaker also condempned for wyllfull murder commytted in the Blacke ffryers, who was executed uppon Mondaie in the morninge. The same daye my Lord Maior beinge absent abowte the goods of the Spannyards, and also all my Lords the Justices of the Benches beinge also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searchinge out of sundrye that were receptors of ffelons, where we fownd a greate manye aswell in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongest our travells this one matter tumbled owt by the waye, that one Wotton a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marchauntt man of good credyte, who fallinge by tyme into decaye, kepte an Alehowse att Smarts keye neere Byllingesgate, and after, for some mysdemeanor beinge put downe, he reared upp a newe trade of lyffe, and in the same Howse he procured all the Cuttpurses abowt this Cittie to repaire to his said howse. There, was a schole howse sett upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devises, the one was a pockett, the other was a purse. The pockett had in yt certen cownters and was hunge abowte with hawkes bells, and over the toppe did hannge a litle sacring bell; and he that could take owt a cownter without any noyse, was allowed to

be *a publique ffoyster:* and he that could take a peece of sylver owt of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged *a judiciall Nypper.* Nota that a ffoister is a Pick-pockett, and a Nypper is termed a Pickepurse, or a Cutpurse. And as concerninge this matter, I will sett downe noe more in this place, but referr your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed.

Saterdaye and Sondaie beinge past, uppon Mondaie my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the M^r^ of the Rooles, my Lord Anderson, M^r^ Sackford Master of the Requests, S^r^ Rowland Hayward, my selffe, M^r^ Owen, and M^r^ Younge, with the assystaunce of M^r^ Attorney and M^r^ Solicitor, did arraigne one Awfeild, Webley, and Crabbe, for sparcinge abrood certen lewed, sedicious, and traytorous bookes; Awfeild did most trayterously maynteyne the booke, with longe tedious and frivolous wordes and speaches. Webley did affirme as much as Awfeild had uttered. They are both executed thorough Gods goodnes and yo^r^ Lordshipps good helpe, as M^r^ Younge told me. There came a Letter to reprive Awfeild, yt was not well digested of as many as knewe of yt, but after all was well taken. When he was executed, his bodye was brought into S^t^ Pulchers to be buryed, but the parishioners would not suffer a Traytor's corpes to be layed in the earthe where theire parents, wyeffs, chyldren, kynred, maisters, and old neighbors did rest: and so his carcase was retourned to the buryall grounde neere Tyborne, and there I leave yt. Crabbe surelye

did renownce the Pope, and my Lords and the rest of the Benche moved Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor to be a meane to her Maiestie for him, and for that cause he was stayed. Trewelye my Lord it is nothinge needfull to wrytte for the staye of any to be repryved, for there is not any in our Commyssion of London or Middlesex but we are desirous to save or staye any poore wretche, yf by color of any lawe or reason we maye doe ytt. My singler good Lord my Lord William of Wynchester was wonte to saye, "when the Courte is furthest from London, then is there the best justice done in all England." I once hard as great a parsonage in office and authoritye as ever He was, and yett lyvinge, saye the same wordes. Yt is growen for a trade nowe in the Courte to make meanes for repryves, twentie pownd for a reprive is nothinge, although it be but for bare tenn daies. I see it will not be holpen onles one honored gentilman, who many tymes is abused by wronge informacion (and suerlie uppon my sowle, not uppon any evill meaninge) do staye his penn. I have not one Letter for the staye of a theiffe from your Lordshippe. Fearinge that I trouble your Lordship with my tedious Lettres I end, this vijth of Julie 1585.

Your good Lordships moste humbly
bownden

W. FLETEWOODE.

At the endinge of this Lettre I received an othere, the which I will aunswere owt of hand.

Upon Tewsdaie I satt in Jugement in the hustings, where M^r^ Cure and his corporate bretherne the Sadlers recovered xl^li^ land in a writ of right 'lon le mise fint ioyne sur le mere droit' against one Beale.

Upon Weddensday wee satt in Southwark abowt the Goneres where my cossen Holcroft accused and 'de repetundis' &c.

Archana.

There was one that is called M^r^ Abarrowe that was at the takynge of the Erle of Arundell, and had gotten into his hands of his nere abowte ccc^li^ in gold. He was commanded to brynge the same to the LL. of the Sterre Chamber. His man carried it after hym even to the Sterre chamber doore and soddenly his man sterted away and tooke a boote, past into Sowthwarke, devyded the money, and there by my warrant was taken, and in effect all the money was had agayne. M^r^ Abarrowe his Master was the lothest man in England to have his man towched for this offence. I caused hym to be indicted and arreigned. My lord Anderson tooke it to be no fellonye because his master delyvered hym the money. I sayd it was felonye by the common lawe, because the custodie and bearing of the money in his masters presens was adjuged to

be as if it had ben in his masters owen custodie. As if my butler, my horse keper, my sheperd, or the yoman of my warderobe do steale and imbesell any thinge in his charge this is felonye, and even so is it of my purse bearer. And if it were not felonye by the comen lawe then was it by the statute, if the somme were above xl^{li} But I fearynge the matter might be called before my Lords, beinge a thing so notoriusly knowen, I caused the Jurie to fynd the speciall matter, and so it resteth. I do lerne sithens that the ffelow had ben in tymes past servant to M^{r} Smith the Clerk of the Pype, &c.

The Names of a number of Maisterles men and Cuttpurses whose practise is to robbe gentlemens Chambers and Artificers shoppes in and about London.

Inprimis John Blewate a lockesmithe.
Thomas Byrche.
William Jackson.
George Jones.
Thomas Croe a barbor.
Thomas Hytchins alias Mekins.
John Middleton.
John Cooke.
Staringe Robyn.
William Sayger.
Richard Doe.
. . . . . Nele.
John Baker.
William Holden.
Thomas Moore
John Moorcrofte.
Turfett.
George Saytire.

William Sponer.
John Powlter.
John Watts.
Roger Raynsford alias Radford.
. . . . Trustonne.
William Coole.
. . . . Johnson.
Henrie Howell.
William Etheridge.
John Leryman.
Welche Dycke.
John Syson.
Richard Syson.
John Berry alias Blythe.
Robert Leverett.
William Crosse.
Nicholas Skeeres.
. . . . Barbor.
Symond Askewe.
Will^m^ Sherman.
Thomas Howse.
Francis Hallowaye.
William Hardinge.
Wilfrid Hallowes.
Nicholas Jones alias Wake.
Thomas Huse.

45.

Harboringe Howses for Maisterles Men, and for such as lyve by theifte and other such lyke Sheefts: viz^t^.

London.
- Richard Waterward at the Fawcon in Grace streate.
- Wottons howse at Smarts Keye.
- The Gunne att Byllingsgate.
- The Crowne at Byshopsgate.
- Mayden heade, by the Towre dyche.
- The Harrowe in Bedlem.
- The Rose at Fletebrydge.

Westm.
- The Styll in the Saynturie.
- The Beare and Ragged Stafe at Charinge Crosse.
- The Redd Legge in the Pallace.
- The White horse in Tuttell streate.
- The White Lyon in the Sayntuarie.
- One Auncient by the Abbey of Westm^r.

Midd.
- Bakers howse in Turnmyll streate.
- The Blacke Lyon in Shordytche.
- Mugglestons howse in the White Chaple.

Surr.
- Pressinge Yron in Sowthwarke.
- The Roose at Newington Butts.

Memorand. That in Wotton's howse at Smarts Keye are wrytten in a table divers Poysies, and among the rest one is this

Si spie sporte, si non spie, tunc steale.

Another is thus

Si spie, si non spie, ffoyste, nyppe, lyfte, shave and spare not.

Note that *ffoyste* is to cutt a pockett, *nyppe* is to cutt a purse, *lyft* is to robbe a shoppe or a gentilmans chamber, *shave* is to ffylche a clooke, a sword, a sylver sponne or such like, that is negligentlie looked unto. Nota, that *mylken ken* is to commytt a roborie or burgularie in the night in a dwelling howse, &c.

To the Right honourable and my synguler good Lord the Lord Highe Treasorer of England.

LETTER CCXVII.

Sir Francis Drake to Lord Burghley upon his missing the King of Spain's Treasure.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 51. *art.* 14. *Orig.*]

*** The following Letter of Sir Francis Drake, partakes of that spirit which, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, has been so uniformly characteristic of the English seaman.

He missed the treasure of the Indies, by only twelve hours sail; "the cause best known to God."

The gap said to have been opened, so little to the liking of the King of Spain, probably alludes to the cities of S[t]. Jago, S[t]. Domingo, Carthagena, and S[t]. Augustin, taken by him a few months before.

RIGHT honorable, having yeat in remembrance your Honors wyshe in your last Lettre, that the receat of my Letter which I had written unto your Honor a lyttel before had bynn dated rather from Cape Vemester[a] then from Plymoth, I cannot omytt to geve your Honor now to understand that as we then slaked no possyble travell or dyllygence which myght any way belong to the handlyng of so great a dyspatche, so lett me assure your good LL. that I will make it most aparent unto your honor that it skaped us but twelfe owers, the hooll treasure which the Kyng of Spayne had out of the Yndyes this last yere. The cawse best knowen to God. And we had at that instant very fowll wether.

My very good Lord ther is now a very great gappe

[a] Finisterre.

opened, very lettell to the lykyng of the Kyng of Spayne. God worke it all to his Glorye.

These Gentlemen, the bearers hereof, have byn actors and eye wyttnesses of all that is passed and can fully certtyfye your Honor of all particullaryte better then can be written: for which cawse I thowght it most meett to send them, as also more especyallye to declare the present estatt of our Shippes, munycyon, and men, being as I judge of no small vallew to parforme any good servis, yf her Majestie be offerred the occasyon of further imployment.

It restethe therfore in your wysdoms to consyder and in lyke sort to derecte spedelley what coorse we have to follow.

And further I most humbly beseche your good Lordshipe to affourd us your honorable good favoure, that som monyes may be had with suche exspedycyon for the present dyspatching of our powerer sort of men, whose travell and long absence desyreth a spedy dyspatch.

The Some reqwyset for this dyspatch would be no lesse then syxe thowsand pounds: and in lewe therof ther shalbe, ether by land or sea, sent to the Tower, or wher or when your LL. shall take order, bollyon for it. And so humblye taking my leave of your good Lordshyp untyll suche tyme as your Lordship shall command me to waytt one your Lordshipe, when I shall geve your Honor som thing to understand, I

hope in God, to your Lordshippes good lykeng. From a bourd Her Majesties shipe the Elisybethe Bonaventure this 26th July 1586.

Yor Ho. most bounden

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right honorable
the Lord High Treasorer
of Yngland, one of Her
Majestie's Prevye Councell.
With speed.

LETTER CCXVIII.

Serjeant Fletewood to Lord Burghley, upon an Insurrection of the Apprentices of London.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 49. *art.* 4. *Orig.*]

*** The Apprentices of London in early times were considered a formidable body. Our chronicles represent them as being either the authors or abettors of almost all the slighter Insurrections of the Metropolis.

For an Account of Evil May Day mentioned in this Letter, an Insurrection of the Apprentices of a more serious description, the reader is referred to the old editions of Hall's Chronicle, fol. 61. 9th Hen. VIII. Grafton, fol. 1021. and Stow's Annals, under the year 1517.

Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, this present daye from two of the clocke until syx, my Ld Maior, with some of his bretherne th'Aldermen and myselffe, dyd examyne certene Apprentices for conspiringe an insurrection in this Cittie agaynst the Frenche and Dutche, but speciallie against the

Frenche; a thinge as lyke unto yll Maye daie as could be devysed in all manner of circumstaunces, *mutatis mutandis*, ther wanted nothinge but execucion. We have taken fyve, all of an age, yet all under xxj^tie fower of them Darbishier borne; the fyrste borne in Norhamshier. We are searchinge and seekinge for the principall Captayne; we hope we shall heare of him this night, for he hath ben workinge all this daie in the Whyt hall at Westminster, and at his cominge home we trust to have him. We have this night sett a standinge watche armed, from nyne until seven in the morninge, and doe meane to contynewe the same soe longe as yt shalbe thought convenient unto your honor and the resydewe of my Lords.

M^r. Alderman Woodcocke, who maryed the wydowe of M^r Lanyson shalbe buried uppon Moundaye next. S^r Rowland Hayward is exstreame sicke and greatlie distressed (our Lord comfort him). My Ladie his wieffe is likewise verie sicke.

This night M^r Attorney Generall sent his man unto me to sett my hand and seale unto a warrant to summon a Quest of enquirie to appeare to morowe att Westminster Hall. The Citizens, when they shall heare of yt, will lyke thereof verie well, for they all crye owt that justice maye be done uppon these Treators. The foresaid Apprentices, being of the Mysterie of Plastorers, are commytted unto Newgate uppon the Quenes Highnes and her Councells commaundement, where

they are lyke to remayne untill they be delivered by speciall warrant.

Here is presentlie noe other thinge worthie of writinge. Wherefore I beseech God to preserve first her Ma^tie, and then yo^r Lordshp, from all these Treators and such other wicked people. From the Guylde hall this present Twesdaie the sixt of September at seaven of the clocke in the eveninge 1586.

Yo^r Lo: most humble bownden

W. FLETEWOODE.

Att the sendinge away of my man this Weddensday mornynge all the bells of London do ring for ioye, that, upon the 7 of this monethe, beinge as this daie, A° 25 H. 8. her Grace was borne. There wilbe this daie but specially great ffeastinge at supper. I have ben bidden owt this night to supper in vj. or vij. places.

To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lo. the Lo. Treasorer of England, at the Courte.

END OF VOL. II.

G. Woodfall, Printer,
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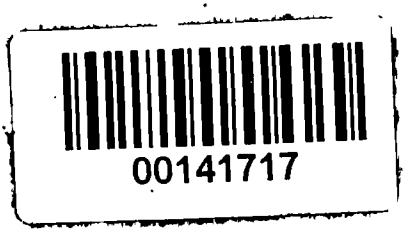
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